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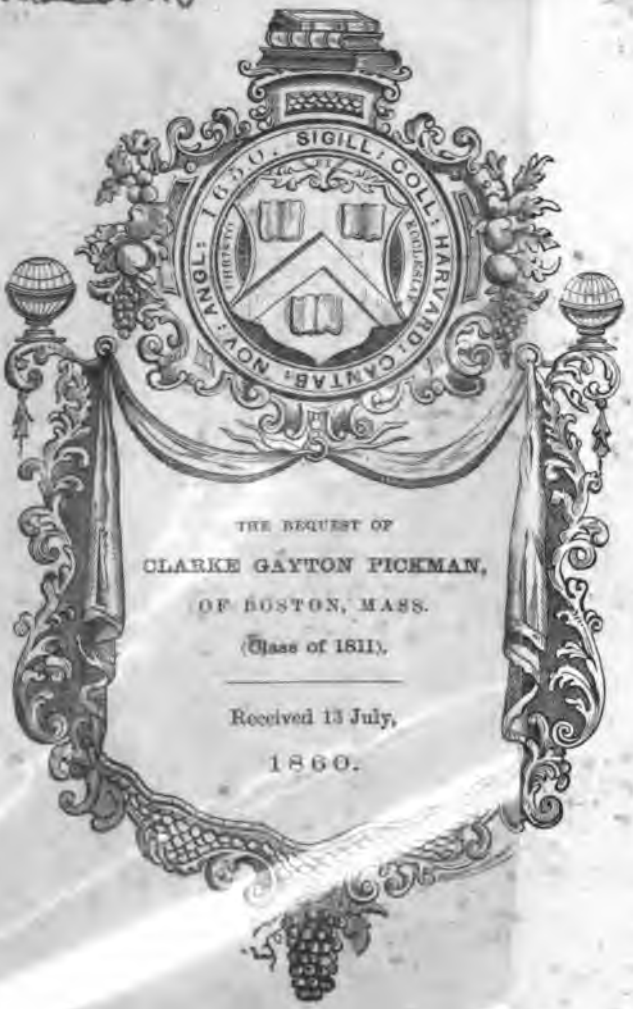

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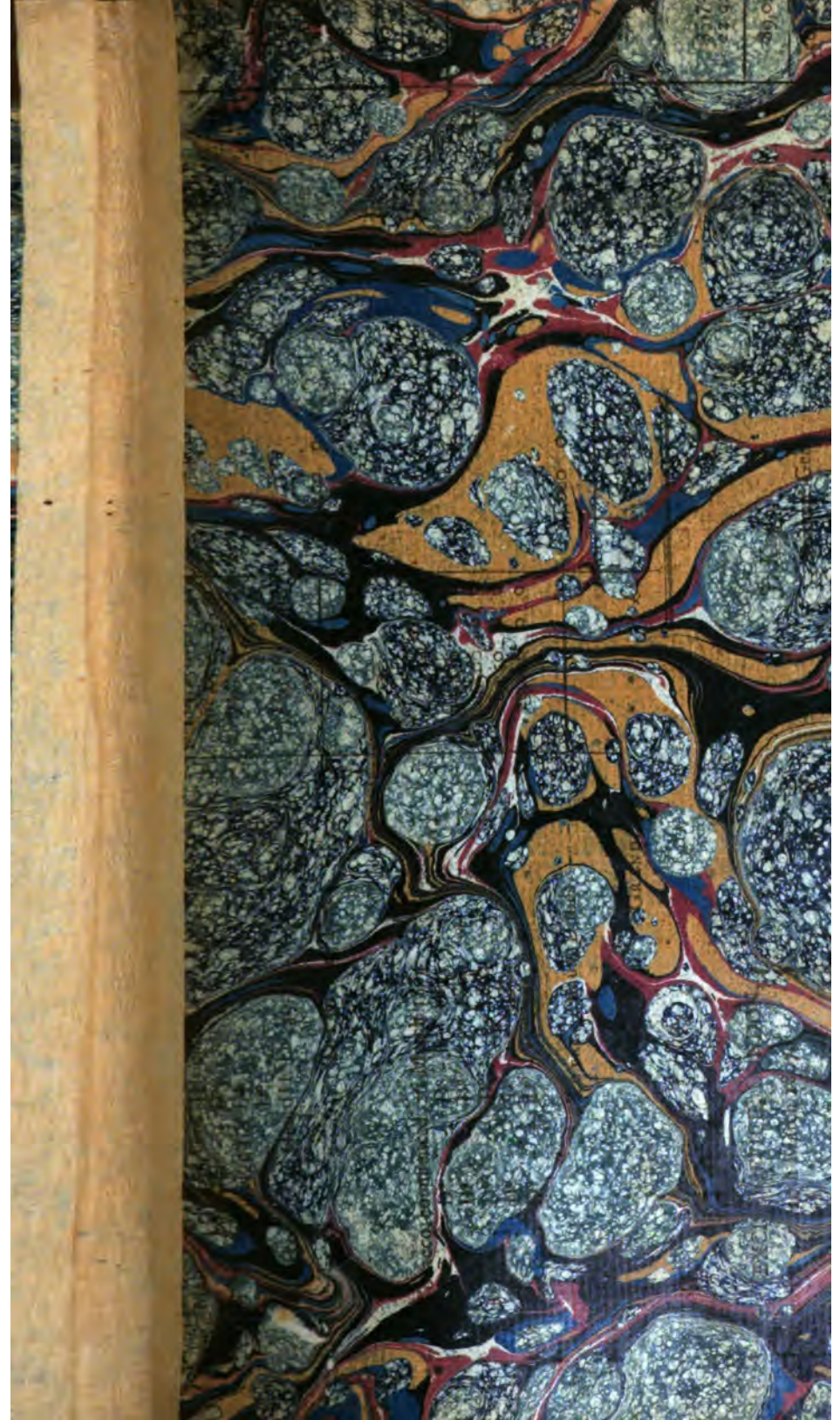

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THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM PALEY, D.D.

1743 - 1805

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME V.

CONTAINING

HORÆ PAULINÆ; THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTED;
THE CLERGYMAN'S COMPANION, &c.

WITH

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HORÆ PAULINÆ:

OR,

THE TRUTH

OF THE

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL,

EVINCED BY A COMPARISON

OF THE

EPISTLES WHICH BEAR HIS NAME

WITH

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,

AND WITH ONE ANOTHER.

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

JOHN LAW, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF KILLALA AND ACHONRY,

AS A TESTIMONY OF ESTEEM

FOR HIS VIRTUES AND LEARNING,

AND OF GRATITUDE

FOR THE LONG AND FAITHFUL FRIENDSHIP

WITH WHICH

THE AUTHOR HAS BEEN HONOURED

BY HIM,

THIS ATTEMPT TO CONFIRM THE EVIDENCE

OF THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY,

IS INSCRIBED

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE,

AND MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,

W. PALEY.

THE

TRUTH

OF THE

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL EVINCED.

CHAPTER I.

EXPOSITION OF THE ARGUMENT.

The volume of Christian Scriptures contains thirteen letters purporting to be written by St. Paul; it contains also a book, which, amongst other things, professes to deliver the history, or rather memoirs of the history, of this same person. By assuming the genuineness of the letters, we may prove the substantial truth of the history; or, by assuming the truth of the history, we may argue strongly in support of the genuineness of the letters. But I assume neither one nor the other. The reader is at liberty to suppose these writings to have been lately discovered in the library of the Escurial, and to come to our hands destitute of any extrinsick or collateral evidence whatever; and the argument I am about to offer is calculated to show, that a comparison of the different writings would, even under these circumstances, afford good reason to believe the persons and transactions to have been real, the letters authentick, and the narration in the main to be true.

Agreement or conformity between letters bearing the name of an ancient author, and a received history of that

author's life, does not necessarily establish the credit of either: because,

1. The history may, like Middleton's Life of Cicero, or Jortin's Life of Erasmus, have been wholly, or in part, compiled from the letters; in which case it is manifest that the history adds nothing to the evidence already afforded by the letters: or,

2. The letters may have been fabricated out of the history: a species of imposture which is certainly practicable; and which, without any accession of proof or authority, would necessarily produce the appearance of consistency and agreement; or,

3. The history and letters may have been founded upon some authority common to both; as upon reports and traditions which prevailed in the age in which they were composed, or upon some ancient record now lost, which both writers consulted: in which case also, the letters, without being genuine, may exhibit marks of conformity with the history; and the history, without being true, may agree with the letters.

Agreement therefore, or conformity, is only to be relied upon so far as we can exclude these several suppositions. Now the point to be noticed is, that, in the three cases above enumerated, conformity must be the effect of *design*. Where the history is compiled from the letters, which is the first case, the design and composition of the work are in general so confessed, or made so evident by comparison, as to leave us in no danger of confounding the production with original history, or of mistaking it for an independent authority. The agreement, it is probable, will be close and uniform, and will easily be perceived to result from the intention of the author, and from the plan and conduct of his work.—Where the letters are fabricated from the his-

tory, which is the second case, it is always for the purpose of imposing a forgery upon the publick; and in order to give colour and probability to the fraud, names, places, and circumstances, found in the history, may be studiously introduced into the letters, as well as a general consistency be endeavoured to be maintained. But here it is manifest, that whatever congruity appears, is the consequence of meditation, artifice, and design.—The third case is that wherein the history and the letters, without any direct privity or communication with each other, derive their materials from the same source; and, by reason of their common original, furnish instances of accordance and correspondency. This is a situation in which we must allow it to be possible for ancient writings to be placed; and it is a situation in which it is more difficult to distinguish spurious from genuine writings, than in either of the cases described in the preceding suppositions; inasmuch as the congruities observable are so far accidental, as that they are not produced by the immediate transplanting of names and circumstances out of one writing into the other. But although, with respect to each other, the agreement in these writings be mediate and secondary, yet is it not properly or absolutely undesigned; because, with respect to the common original from which the information of the writers proceeds, it is studied and factitious. The case of which we treat must, as to the letters, be a case of forgery; and when the writer, who is personating another, sits down to his composition, whether he have the history with which we now compare the letters, or some other record, before him; or whether he have only loose tradition and reports to go by—he must adapt his imposture, as well as he can, to what he finds in these accounts; and his adaptations will be the result of counsel, scheme, and industry: art

must be employed; and vestiges will appear of management and design. Add to this, that, in most of the following examples, the circumstances in which the coincidence is remarked are of too particular and domestick a nature to have floated down upon the stream of general tradition.

Of the three cases which we have stated, the difference between the first and the two others is, that in the first the design may be fair and honest, in the others it must be accompanied with the consciousness of fraud: but in all there is design. In examining, therefore, the agreement between ancient writings, the character of truth and originality is undesignedness: and this test applies to every supposition; for, whether we suppose the history to be true, but the letters spurious; or the letters to be genuine, but the history false; or, lastly, falsehood to belong to both—the history to be a fable, and the letters fictitious; the same inference will result—that either there will be no agreement between them, or the agreement will be the effect of design. Nor will it elude the principle of this rule, to suppose the same person to have been the author of all the letters, or even the author both of the letters and the history; for no less design is necessary to produce coincidence between different parts of a man's own writings, especially when they are made to take the different forms of a history and of original letters, than to adjust them to the circumstances found in any other writing.

With respect to those writings of the New Testament which are to be the subject of our present consideration, I think that, as to the authenticity of the epistles, this argument, where it is sufficiently sustained by instances, is nearly conclusive; for I cannot assign a supposition of forgery, in which coincidences of the kind we inquire after are likely to appear. As to the history, it extends to these

points:—it proves the general reality of the circumstances; it proves the historian's knowledge of these circumstances. In the present instance it confirms his pretensions of having been a contemporary, and in the latter part of his history a companion of St. Paul. In a word, it establishes the substantial truth of the narration; and *substantial* truth is that which, in every historical inquiry, ought to be the first thing sought after and ascertained; it must be the groundwork of every other observation.

The reader then will please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend.

As to the proofs of undesignedness, I shall in this place say little; for I had rather the reader's persuasion should arise from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they may be accompanied, than from any previous formulary or description of argument. In a great plurality of examples, I trust he will be perfectly convinced that no design or contrivance whatever has been exercised; and if some of the coincidences alledged appear to be minute, circuitous, or oblique, let him reflect that this very indirectness and subtilty is that which gives force and propriety to the example. Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements prove little; because it may be suggested, that the insertion of such is the ordinary expedient of every forgery: and though they may occur, and probably will occur, in genuine writings, yet it cannot be proved that they are peculiar to these. Thus what St. Paul declares in chap. xi. of 1 Cor. concerning the institution of the eucharist—"For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me"—though

it be in close and verbal conformity with the account of the same transaction preserved by St. Luke, is yet a conformity of which no use can be made in our argument; for if it should be objected that this was a mere recital from the Gospel, borrowed by the author of the epistle, for the purpose of setting off his composition by an appearance of agreement with the received account of the Lord's supper, I should not know how to repel the insinuation. In like manner, the description which St. Paul gives of himself in his epistle to the Philippians (iii. 5.)—"Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless"—is made up of particulars so plainly delivered concerning him, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians, that I cannot deny but that it would be easy for an impostor, who was fabricating a letter in the name of St. Paul, to collect these articles into one view. This, therefore, is a conformity, which we do not adduce. But when I read, in the Acts of the Apostles, that "when Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman *which was a Jewess;*" and when, in an epistle addressed to Timothy, I find him reminded of his "having known the Holy Scriptures *from a child,*" which implies that he must, on one side or both, have been brought up by Jewish parents: I conceive that I remark a coincidence which shows, by its very *obliquity*, that scheme was not employed in its formation. In like manner, if a coincidence depend upon a comparison of dates, or rather of circumstances from which the dates are gathered—the more intricate that comparison shall be; the more numerous the

intermediate steps through which the conclusion is deduced; in a word, the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better, because the agreement which finally results is thereby further removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute, and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. And this distinction ought always to be retained in our thoughts.

The very particularity of St. Paul's epistles; the perpetual recurrence of names of persons and places; the frequent allusions to the incidents of his private life, and the circumstances of his condition and history; and the connexion and parallelism of these with the same circumstances in the Acts of the Apostles, so as to enable us, for the most part, to confront them one with another; as well as the relation which subsists between the circumstances, as mentioned or referred to in the different epistles—afford no inconsiderable proof of the genuineness of the writings, and the reality of the transactions. For as no advertency is sufficient to guard against slips and contradictions, when circumstances are multiplied, and when they are liable to be detected by cotemporary accounts equally circumstantial, an impostor, I should expect, would either have avoided particulars entirely, contenting himself with doctrinal discussions, moral precepts, and general reflexions*; or if, for the sake of im-

* This, however, must not be misunderstood. A person writing to his friends, and upon a subject in which the transactions of his own life were concerned, would probably be led in the course of his letter, especially if it was a long one, to refer to passages found in his history. A person addressing an epistle to the publick at large, or under the form of an epistle delivering a discourse upon some speculative argument, would

itating St. Paul's style, he should have thought it necessary to intersperse his composition with names and circumstances, he would have placed them out of the reach of comparison with the history. And I am confirmed in this opinion by an inspection of two attempts to counterfeit St. Paul's epistles, which have come down to us; and the only attempts of which we have any knowledge that are at all deserving of regard. One of these is an epistle to the Laodiceans, extant in Latin, and preserved by Fabricius in his collection of apocryphal scriptures. The other purports to be an epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to an epistle from the Corinthians to him. This was translated by Scroderus from a copy in the Armenian language which had been sent to W. Whiston, and was afterwards, from a more perfect copy procured at Aleppo, published by his sons, as an appendix to their edition of Moses Chorenensis. No Greek copy exists of either: they are not only not supported by ancient testimony, but they are negatived and excluded; as they have never found admission into any catalogue of apostolical writings, acknowledged by, or known to, the early ages of Christianity. In the first of these I found, as I expected, a total *evitation* of circumstances. It is simply a collection of sentences from the canonical epistles, strung together with very little skill. The second, which is a more versute and specious forgery, is introduced with a list of names of persons who wrote to St. Paul from Corinth; and is preceded by an

not, it is probable, meet with an occasion of alluding to the circumstances of his life at all; he might, or he might not; the chance on either side is nearly equal. This is the situation of the catholick epistle. Although, therefore, the presence of these allusions and agreements be a valuable accession to the arguments by which the authenticity of a letter is maintained, yet the want of them certainly forms no positive objection.

account sufficiently particular of the manner in which the epistle was sent from Corinth to St. Paul, and the answer returned. But they are names which no one ever heard of; and the account it is impossible to combine with any thing found in the Acts, or in the other epistles. It is not necessary for me to point out the internal marks of spuriousness and imposture which these compositions betray; but it was necessary to observe, that they do not afford those coincidences which we propose as proofs of authenticity in the epistles which we defend.

Having explained the general scheme and formation of the argument, I may be permitted to subjoin a brief account of the manner of conducting it.

I have disposed the several instances of agreement under separate numbers; as well to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, as for another purpose, viz. that the reader may thereby be reminded that the instances are independent of one another. I have advanced nothing which I did not think probable; but the degree of probability, by which different instances are supported, is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an instance that appears to him unsatisfactory, or founded in mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will have occasion also to observe, that the coincidences discoverable in some epistles are much fewer and weaker than what are supplied by others. But he will add to his observation this important circumstance, that whatever ascertains the original of one epistle, in some measure establishes the authority of the rest. For, whether these epistles be genuine or spurious, every thing about them indicates that they come from the same hand. The diction, which it is extremely difficult to imitate, preserves its resemblance

elsewhere; and whether, if we do find them, they meet together in respect of date. Turn to the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx. ver. 2, 3, and you read the following account: "When he had gone over those parts, (viz. Macedonia), and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months; and when the Jews laid wait for him, *as he was about to sail into Syria*, he purposed to return through Macedonia." From this passage, compared with the account of St. Paul's travels given before, and from the sequel of the chapter, it appears, that upon St. Paul's *second* visit to the peninsula of Greece, his intention was, when he should leave the country, to proceed from Achaia directly by sea to Syria; but that, to avoid the Jews, who were lying in wait to intercept him in his route, he so far changed his purpose as to go back through Macedonia, embark at Philippi, and pursue his voyage from thence towards Jerusalem. Here therefore is a journey to Jerusalem; but not a syllable of any contribution. And as St. Paul had taken several journeys to Jerusalem before, and one also immediately after his *first* visit into the peninsula of Greece (Acts xviii. 21.), it cannot from hence be collected in which of these visits the epistle was written, or with certainty, that it was written in either. The silence of the historian, who professes to have been with St. Paul at the time (c. xx. v. 6.), concerning any contribution, might lead us to look out for some different journey, or might induce us perhaps to question the consistency of the two records, did not a very accidental reference, in another part of the same history, afford us sufficient ground to believe that this silence was omission. When St. Paul made his reply before Felix, to the accusations of Tertullus, he alleged, as was natural, that neither the errand which brought him to Jerusalem, nor his con-

duct whilst he remained there, merited the calumnies with which the Jews had aspersed him. "Now after many years (i. e. of absence) *I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings;* whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude nor with tumult, who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me." Acts xxiv. 17—19. This mention of alms and offerings certainly brings the narrative in the Acts nearer to an accordancy with the epistle; yet no one, I am persuaded, will suspect that this clause was put into St. Paul's defence, either to supply the omission in the preceding narrative, or with any view to such accordancy.

After all, nothing is yet said or hinted concerning the *place* of the contribution; nothing concerning Macedonia and Achaia. Turn therefore to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xvi. 1—4, and you have St. Paul delivering the following directions: "Concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye: upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." In this passage we find a contribution carrying on at Corinth, the capital of Achaia, for the Christians of Jerusalem; we find also a hint given of the possibility of St. Paul going up to Jerusalem himself, after he had paid his visit into Achaia; but this is spoken of rather as a possibility than as any settled intention; for his first thought was, "Whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I *send* to bring your liberality to Jerusalem:" and, in the sixth

to the Corinthians he would have found a contribution in Macedonia accompanying that in Achaia; but no intimation for whom either was intended, and not a word about the journey. It was only by a close and attentive collation of the three writings, that he could have picked out the circumstances which he has united in his epistle; and by a still more nice examination, that he could have determined them to belong to the same period. In the third place I remark, what diminishes very much the suspicion of fraud, how aptly and connectedly the mention of the circumstances in question, viz. the journey to Jerusalem, and of the occasion of that journey, arises from the context. "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. *But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.* It hath pleased them verily, and their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed them to this fruit, I will come by you into Spain." Is the passage in *Italicks* like a passage foisted in for an extraneous purpose? Does it not arise from what goes before, by a junction as easy as any example of writing upon real business can furnish? Could any thing be more natural than that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, should speak of the time when he hoped to visit them; should mention the business which then detained him; and that he purposed to set forwards upon his journey to them, when that business was completed?

No. II.

By means of the quotation which formed the subject of the preceding number, we collect, that the Epistle to the Romans was written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece; but this we collect, not from the epistle itself, nor from any thing *declared* concerning the time and place in any part of the epistle, but from a comparison of circumstances referred to in the epistle, with the order of events recorded in the Acts, and with references to the same circumstances, though for quite different purposes, in the two Epistles to the Corinthians. Now would the author of a forgery, who sought to gain credit to a spurious letter by congruities, depending upon the time and place in which the letter was supposed to be written, have left that time and place to be made out, in a manner so obscure and indirect as this is? If therefore coincidences of circumstances can be pointed out in this epistle, depending upon its date, or the place were it was written, whilst that date and place are only ascertained by other circumstances, such coincidences may fairly be stated as *undesigned*. Under this head I adduce

Chap. xvi. 21—23. "Timotheus, my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you. I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius, mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you; and Quartus, a brother." With this passage I compare Acts xx. 4. "And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and, of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and, of Asia, Tychicus, and Trophimus." The Epistle to the Romans, we have seen, was written just before St. Paul's departure from Greece, after his second visit to that peninsula; the persons mentioned in the quotation from the Acts

are those who accompanied him in that very departure. Of seven whose names are joined in the salutation of the church of Rome, three, viz. Sosipater, Gaius, and Timothy, are proved, by this passage in the Acts, to have been with St. Paul at the time. And this is perhaps as much coincidence as could be expected from reality, though less, I am apt to think, than would have been produced by design. Four are mentioned in the Acts who are not joined in the salutation; and it is in the nature of the case probable that there should be many attending St. Paul in Greece who knew nothing of the converts at Rome, nor were known by them. In like manner several are joined in the salutation who are not mentioned in the passage referred to in the Acts. This also was to be expected. The occasion of mentioning them in the Acts was their proceeding with St. Paul upon his journey. But we may be sure that there were many eminent Christians with St. Paul in Greece, besides those who accompanied him into Asia*.

* Of these Jason is one, whose presence upon this occasion is very naturally accounted for. Jason was an inhabitant of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and entertained St. Paul in his house upon his first visit to that country. Acts xvii. 7.—St. Paul, upon this his second visit, passed through Macedonia on his way to Greece, and, from the situation of Thessalonica, most likely through that city. It appears, from various instances in the Acts, to have been the practice of many converts to attend St. Paul from place to place. It is therefore highly probable, I mean that it is highly consistent with the account in the history, that Jason, according to that account a zealous disciple, the inhabitant of a city at no great distance from Greece, and through which, as it should seem, St. Paul had lately passed, should have accompanied St. Paul into Greece, and have been with him there at this time. Lucius is another name in the epistle. A very slight alteration would convert Λουκιος into Λουκας. Lucius into Luke, which would produce an additional coincidence: for, if Luke was the author of the history, he was with St. Paul at this time; inasmuch as describing the voyage which took place soon after the writing of this epistle, the historian uses the first person—"We sailed away from Philippi." Acts xx. 6.

But if any one shall still contend that a forger of the epistle, with the Acts of the Apostles before him, and having settled his scheme of writing a letter as from St. Paul upon his second visit into Greece, would easily think of the expedient of putting in the names of those persons who appeared to be with St. Paul at the time, as an obvious recommendation of the imposture; I then repeat my observations; first, that he would have made the catalogue more complete; and secondly, that with this contrivance in his thoughts, it was certainly his business, in order to avail himself of the artifice, to have stated in the body of the epistle that St. Paul was in Greece when he wrote it, and that he was there upon his second visit. Neither of which he has done, either directly, or even so as to be discoverable by any circumstance found in the narrative delivered in the Acts.

Under the same head, viz. of coincidences depending upon date, I cite from the epistle the following salutation: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." Chap. xvi. 3.—It appears from the Acts of the Apostles, that Priscilla and Aquila had originally been inhabitants of Rome; for we read, Acts xviii. 2, that "Paul found a certain Jew, named Aquila, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from *Rome*." They were connected therefore with the place to which the salutations are sent. That is one coincidence; another is the following: St. Paul became acquainted with these persons at Corinth during his first visit into Greece. They accompanied him upon his return into Asia; were settled for some time at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 19—26, and appear to have been with St. Paul when he wrote from that place

his First Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Not long after the writing of which epistle St. Paul went from Ephesus into Macedonia, and, "after he had gone over those parts," proceeded from thence upon his second visit into Greece; during which visit, or rather at the conclusion of it, the Epistle to the Romans, as hath been shewn, was written. We have therefore the time of St. Paul's residence at Ephesus after he had written to the Corinthians, the time taken up by his progress through Macedonia (which is indefinite, and was probably considerable), and his three months' abode in Greece: we have the sum of these three periods allowed for Aquila and Priscilla going back to Rome, so as to be there when the epistle before us was written. Now what this quotation leads us to observe is, the danger of scattering names and circumstances in writings like the present, how implicated they often are with dates and places, and that nothing but truth can preserve consistency. Had the notes of time in the epistle to the Romans fixed the writing of it to any date prior to St. Paul's first residence at Corinth, the salutation of Aquila and Priscilla would have contradicted the history, because it would have been prior to his acquaintance with these persons. If the notes of time had fixed it to any period during *that* residence at Corinth, during his journey to Jerusalem when he first returned out of Greece, during his stay at Antioch, whither he went down from Jerusalem, or during his second progress through the Lesser Asia upon which he proceeded from Antioch, an equal contradiction would have been incurred; because from Acts xviii. 2—18, 19—26, it appears that during all this time Aquila and Priscilla were either along with St. Paul, or were abiding at Ephesus. Lastly, had the notes of time in this epistle, which we have seen to be perfectly incidental, compared with the notes of time in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which are equally inci-

dental, fixed this epistle to be either cotemporary with that, or prior to it, a similar contradiction would have ensued; because, first, when the Epistle to the Corinthians was written, Aquila and Priscilla were along with St. Paul, as they joined in the salutation of that church, 1 Cor. xvi. 19; and because, secondly, the history does not allow us to suppose, that between the time of their becoming acquainted with St. Paul, and the time of St. Paul's writing to the Corinthians, Aquila and Priscilla could have gone to Rome, so as to have been saluted in an epistle to that city; and then come back to St. Paul at Ephesus, so as to be joined with him in saluting the church of Corinth. As it is, all things are consistent. The Epistle to the Romans is posteriour even to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians; because it speaks of a contribution in Achaia being completed, which the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii, is only soliciting. It is sufficiently therefore posteriour to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to allow time in the interval for Aquila and Priscilla's return from Ephesus to Rome.

Before we dismiss these two persons, we may take notice of the terms of commendation in which St. Paul describes them, and of the agreement of that encomium with the history. "My helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." In the eighteenth chapter of the Acts, we are informed that Aquila and Priscilla were Jews; that St. Paul first met with them at Corinth; that for some time he abode in the same house with them; that St. Paul's contention at Corinth was with the unbelieving Jews, who at first "opposed and blasphemed, and afterwards with one accord raised an insurrection against him;" that Aquila and Priscilla adhered, we may conclude, to St. Paul throughout this whole

contest; for, when he left the city, they went with him, Acts viii. 18. Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that they should be involved in the dangers and persecutions which St. Paul underwent from the Jews, being themselves Jews; and, by adhering to St. Paul in this dispute, deserters, as they would be accounted, of the Jewish cause. Further, as they, though Jews, were assisting to St. Paul in preaching to the Gentiles at Corinth, they had taken a decided part in the great controversy of that day, the admission of the Gentiles to a parity of religious situation with the Jews. For this conduct alone, if there was no other reason, they may seem to have been intitled to "thanks from the churches of the Gentiles." They were Jews taking part with the Gentiles. Yet is all this so indirectly intimated, or rather so much of it left to inference in the account given in the Acts, that I do not think it probable that a forger either could or would have drawn his representation from thence; and still less probable do I think it, that, without having seen the Acts, he could, by mere accident, and without truth for his guide, have delivered a representation so conformable to the circumstances there recorded.

The two congruities last adduced depended upon the time, the two following regard the place, of the epistle.

1. Chap. xvi. 23. "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you"—of what city? We have seen, that is, we have inferred from circumstances found in the epistle, compared with circumstances found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, that our epistle was written during St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece. Again, as St. Paul, in his epistle to the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, speaks of a collection going on in that city, and of his desire that it might be ready against he came thither; and as in this epistle he

speaks of that collection being ready, it follows that the epistle was written either whilst he was at Corinth, or after he had been there. Thirdly, since St. Paul speaks in this epistle of his journey to Jerusalem, as about instantly to take place; and as we learn, Acts xx. 3, that his design and attempt was to sail upon that journey immediately from Greece, properly so called, i. e. as distinguished from Macedonia; it is probable that he was in this country when he wrote the epistle, in which he speaks of himself as upon the eve of setting out. If in Greece, he was most likely at Corinth; for the two Epistles to the Corinthians show that the principal end of his coming into Greece was to visit that city, where he had founded a church. Certainly we know no place in Greece in which his presence was so probable: at least, the placing of him at Corinth satisfies every circumstance. Now that Erastus was an inhabitant of Corinth, or had some connexion with Corinth, is rendered a fair subject of presumption, by that which is accidentally said of him in the Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iii. 20. "Erastus abode at *Corinth*." St. Paul complains his solitude, and is telling Timothy what was become of his companions: "Erastus abode at Corinth; but Trophimus have I left at Miletum, sick." Erastus was one of those who had attended St. Paul in his travels, Acts xix. 22; and when those travels had, upon some occasion, brought our apostle and his train to Corinth, Erastus staid there, for no reason so probable as that it was his home. I allow that this coincidence is not so precise as some others, yet I think it too clear to be produced by accident; for, of the many places which this same epistle has assigned to different persons, and the innumerable others which it might have mentioned, how came it to fix upon Corinth for Erastus? And, as far as it is a coincidence, it is certainly

undesigned on the part of the author of the Epistle to the Romans: because he has not told us of what city Erastus was the chamberlain; or, which is the same thing, from what city the epistle was written, the setting forth of which was absolutely necessary to the display of the coincidence, if any such display had been thought of: nor could the author of the Epistle to Timothy leave Erastus at Corinth, from any thing he might have read in the Epistle to the Romans, because Corinth is no where in that epistle mentioned either by name or description.

2. Chap. xvi. 1—3. "I commend unto you Phœbe, our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea, that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you; for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." Cenchrea adjoined to Corinth; St. Paul therefore, at the time of writing the letter, was in the neighbourhood of the woman whom he thus recommends. But, further, that St. Paul before this had been at Cenchrea itself, appears from the eighteenth chapter of the Acts; and appears by a circumstance as incidental, and as unlike design, as any that can be imagined. "Paul after this tarried there (viz. at Corinth) yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head *in Cenchrea*, for he had a vow." xviii. 18. The shaving of the head denoted the expiration of the Nazaritick vow. The historian therefore, by the mention of this circumstance, virtually tells us that St. Paul's vow was expired before he set forward upon his voyage, having deferred probably his departure until he should be released from the restrictions under which his vow laid him. Shall we say that the author of the Acts of the Apostles feigned this anecdote of St.

Paul, at Cenchrea, because he had read in the Epistle to the Romans that "Phœbe, a servant of the church of Cenchrea, had been a succourer of many, and of him also?" or shall we say that the author of the Epistle to the Romans, out of his own imagination, created Phœbe "*a servant of the church at Cenchrea*," because he read in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul had "shorn his head" in that place?

No. III.

Chap. i. 13. "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that *oftentimes I purposed to come unto* you, but was let hitherto, that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles." Again, xv. 23, 24, "But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years (πολλα, oftentimes) to come unto you, whensoever I take my journey into Spain I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you: but now I go up unto Jerusalem, to minister to the saints. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."

With these passages compare Acts xix. 21. "After these things were ended (viz. at Ephesus), Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."

Let it be observed that our epistle purports to have been written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second journey into Greece; that the quotation from the Acts contains words said to have been spoken by St. Paul at Ephesus, some time before he set forwards upon that journey. Now I contend that it is impossible that two independent fictions

should have attributed to St. Paul the same purpose, especially a purpose so specifick and particular as this, which was not merely a general design of visiting Rome, but a design of visiting Rome after he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, and after he had performed a voyage from these countries to Jerusalem. The conformity between the history and the epistle is perfect. In the first quotation from the epistle, we find that a design of visiting Rome had long dwelt in the apostle's mind: in the quotation from the Acts we find that design expressed a considerable time before the epistle was written. In the history we find that the plan which St. Paul had formed, was to pass through Macedonia and Achaia; after that to go to Jerusalem; and, when he had finished his visit there, to sail for Rome. When the epistle was written, he had executed so much of his plan, as to have passed through Macedonia and Achaia; and was preparing to pursue the remainder of it, by speedily setting out towards Jerusalem: and in this point of his travels he tells his friends at Rome, that, when he had completed the business which carried him to Jerusalem, he would come to them. Secondly, I say that the very inspection of the passages will satisfy us that they were not made up from one another.

"Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you: but now I go up to Jerusalem, to minister to the saints. When, therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."—This from the epistle.

"Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."—This from the Acts.

If the passage in the epistle was taken from that in the Acts, why was *Spain* put in? If the passage in the Acts was taken from that in the epistle, why was *Spain* left out? If the two passages were unknown to each other, nothing can account for their conformity but truth. Whether we suppose the history and the epistle to be alike fictitious, or the history to be true but the letter spurious, or the letter to be genuine but the history a fable, the meeting with this circumstance in both, if neither borrowed it from the other, is, upon all these suppositions, equally inexplicable.

No. IV.

The following quotation I offer for the purpose of pointing out a geographical coincidence, of so much importance, that Dr. Lardner considered it as a confirmation of the whole history of St. Paul's travels.

Chap. xv. 19. "So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."

I do not think that these words necessarily import that St. Paul had penetrated into Illyricum, or preached the gospel in that province; but rather that he had come to the confines of Illyricum (μεχρι του Ιλλυρικου) and that these confines were the external boundary of his travels. St. Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing the circumference to which his travels had extended. The form of expression in the original conveys this idea; απο Ιερουσαλημ και κυκλω μεχρι του Ιλλυρικου. Illyricum was the part of this circle which he mentions in an Epistle to the Romans, because it lay in a direction from Jerusalem towards that city, and pointed out to the Roman readers the nearest place to them, to which his travels from Jerusalem had brought him. The name of Illyricum no where occurs in the Acts of the Apostles; no suspicion, therefore, can be

conceived that the mention of it was borrowed from thence. Yet I think it appears, from these same Acts, that St. Paul, before the time when he wrote his epistle to the Romans, had reached the confines of Illyricum; or, however, that he might have done so, in perfect consistency with the account there delivered. Illyricum adjoins upon Macedonia; measuring from Jerusalem towards Rome, it lies close behind it. If, therefore, St. Paul traversed the whole country of Macedonia, the route would necessarily bring him to the confines of Illyricum, and these confines would be described as the extremity of his journey. Now the account of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece, is contained in these words: "He departed for to go into Macedonia; *and when he had gone over these parts*, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece." Acts xx. 2. This account allows, or rather leads us to suppose that St. Paul, in going over Macedonia (διελθων τα μερη εκεινα), had passed so far to the west as to come into those parts of the country which were contiguous to Illyricum, if he did not enter into Illyricum itself. The history, therefore, and the epistle so far agree, and the agreement is much strengthened by a coincidence of *time*. At the time the epistle was written, St. Paul might say, in conformity with the history, that he had "come into Illyricum:" much before that time he could not have said so; for, upon his former journey to Macedonia, his route is laid down from the time of his landing at Philippi to his sailing from Corinth. We trace him from Philippi to Amphipolis and Appollonia; from thence to Thessalonica; from Thessalonica to Berea; from Berea to Athens; and from Athens to Corinth: which track confines him to the eastern side of the peninsula, and therefore keeps him all the while at a considerable distance from Illyricum. Upon his second visit to Macedonia, the

history, we have seen, leaves him at liberty. It must have been, therefore, upon that second visit, if at all, that he approached Illyricum; and this visit, we know, almost immediately preceded the writing of the epistle. It was natural that the apostle should refer to a journey which was fresh in his thoughts.

No. V.

Chap. xv. 30. "Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea."—With this compare Acts xx. 22, 23:

"And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me."

Let it be remarked that it is the same journey to Jerusalem which is spoken of in these two passages; that the epistle was written immediately before St. Paul set forwards upon this journey from Achaia; that the words in the Acts were uttered by him when he had proceeded in that journey as far as Miletus, in Lesser Asia. This being remembered, I observe that the two passages, without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another, represent the state of St. Paul's mind, with respect to the event of the journey, in terms of substantial agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem: they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might there befall him. When, in his epistle, he entreats the Roman Christians, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, to strive to-

that the object of the epistle, that is of the argumentative part of it, was to place the Gentile convert upon a parity of situation with the Jewish, in respect of his religious condition, and his rank in the divine favour. The epistle supports this point by a variety of arguments; such as, that no man of either description was justified by the works of the law—for this plain reason, that no man had performed them; that it became therefore necessary to appoint another medium or condition of justification, in which new medium the Jewish peculiarity was merged and lost; that Abraham's own justification was anteriour to the law, and independent of it; that the Jewish converts were to consider the law as now dead, and themselves as married to another; that what the law in truth could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God had done by sending his Son: that God had rejected the unbelieving Jews, and had substituted in their place a society of believers in Christ, collected indifferently from Jews and Gentiles. Soon after the writing of this epistle, St. Paul, agreeably to the intention intimated in the epistle itself, took his journey to Jerusalem. The day after he arrived there, he was introduced to the church. What passed at this interview is thus related, Acts xxi. 19: "When he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry: and, when they heard it, they glorified the Lord; and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law; and they *are informed of thee*, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." St. Paul disclaimed the charge; but there must have been something to have led to it. Now it is only to suppose that St. Paul

openly professed the principles which the epistle contains; that, in the course of his ministry, he had uttered the sentiments which he is here made to write; and the matter is accounted for. Concerning the accusation which publick rumour had brought against him to Jerusalem, I will not say that it was just; but I will say, that, if he was the author of the epistle before us, and if his preaching was consistent with his writing, it was extremely natural; for though it be not a necessary, surely it is an easy inference, that if the Gentile convert, who did not observe the law of Moses, held as advantageous a situation in his religious interests as the Jewish convert who did, there could be no strong reason for observing that law at all. The remonstrance therefore of the church of Jerusalem, and the report which occasioned it, were founded in no very violent misconstruction of the apostle's doctrine. His reception at Jerusalem was exactly what I should have expected the author of this epistle to have met with. I am entitled therefore to argue that a separate narrative of effects experienced by St. Paul, similar to what a person might be expected to experience, who held the doctrines advanced in this epistle, forms a proof that he did hold these doctrines; and that the epistle bearing his name, in which such doctrines are laid down, actually proceeded from him.

No. VIII.

This number is supplemental to the former. I propose to point out in it two particulars in the conduct of the argument, perfectly adapted to the historical circumstances under which the epistle was written; which yet are free from all appearance of contrivance, and which it would not, I think, have entered into the mind of a sophist to contrive.

1. The Epistle to the Galatians relates to the same general question as the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul had founded the church of Galatia; at Rome he had never been. Observe now a difference in his manner of treating of the same subject, corresponding with this difference in his situation. In the Epistle to the Galatians he puts the point in a great measure upon *authority:* "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel." Gal. i. 6. "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Ch. i. 11, 12. "I am afraid lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." iv. 11, 12. "I desire to be present with you now, for I stand in doubt of you." iv. 20. "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." v. 2. "This persuasion cometh not of him that called you." v. 8. This is the style in which he accosts the Galatians. In the epistle to the converts of Rome, where his authority was not established, nor his person known, he puts the same point entirely upon *argument.* The perusal of the epistle will prove this to the satisfaction of every reader; and, as the observation relates to the whole contents of the epistle, I forbear adducing separate extracts. I repeat therefore that we have pointed out a distinction in the two epistles, suited to the relation in which the author stood to his different correspondents.

Another adaptation, and somewhat of the same kind, is the following:

2. The Jews we know were very numerous at Rome, and probably formed a principal part amongst the new converts; so much so, that the Christians seem to have been known at Rome rather as a denomination of Jews, than as

any thing else. In an epistle consequently to the Roman believers, the point to be endeavoured after by St. Paul was, to reconcile the *Jewish* converts to the opinion, that the Gentiles were admitted by God to a parity of religious situation with themselves, and that without their being bound by the law of Moses. The Gentile converts would probably accede to this opinion very readily. In this epistle, therefore, though directed to the Roman church in general, it is in truth a Jew writing to Jews. Accordingly you will take notice, that as often as his argument leads him to say any thing derogatory from the Jewish institution, he constantly follows it by a softening clause. Having (ii. 28, 29.) pronounced, not much perhaps to the satisfaction of the native Jews, "that he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither that circumcision which is outward in the flesh;" he adds immediately, "What advantage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there in circumcision? *Much every way.*" Having in the third chapter, ver. 28, brought his argument to this formal conclusion, "that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law," he presently subjoins, ver. 31, "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid! *Yea, we establish the law.*" In the seventh chapter, when in the sixth verse he had advanced the bold assertion, that "now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held;" in the very next verse he comes in with this healing question, "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid! Nay, I had not known sin but by the law." Having in the following words insinuated, or rather more than insinuated, the inefficacy of the Jewish law, viii. 3, "for what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh;" after a di-

gression indeed, but that sort of a digression which he could never resist, a rapturous contemplation of his Christian hope, and which occupies the latter part of this chapter; we find him in the next, as if sensible that he had said something which would give offence, returning to his Jewish brethren in terms of the warmest affection and respect. "I say the truth in Christ Jesus; I lie not; my conscience also bearing me witness, in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, *for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers; and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came.*" When, in the thirty-first and thirty-second verses of this ninth chapter, he represented to the Jews the errour of even the best of their nation, by telling them that "Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, had not attained to the law of righteousness, because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law, for they stumbled at that stumbling stone," he takes care to annex to this declaration these conciliating expressions: "Brethren, *my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel* is, that they might be saved; for I bear them record that they *have a zeal of God*, but not according to knowledge." Lastly, having, ch. x. 20, 21, by the application of a passage in Isaiah insinuated the most ungrateful of all propositions to a Jewish ear, the rejection of the Jewish nation, as God's peculiar people; he hastens, as it were, to qualify the intelligence of their fall by this interesting expostulation: "I say, then, hath God cast away his people (i. e. wholly and entirely)? *God forbid!* for I also am an Israelite, of the

seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew:*" and follows this thought, throughout the whole of the eleventh chapter, in a series of reflections calculated to soothe the Jewish converts, as well as to procure from their Gentile brethren respect to the Jewish institution. Now all this is perfectly natural. In a real St. Paul writing to real converts, it is what anxiety to bring them over to his persuasion would naturally produce; but there is an earnestness and a personality, if I may so call it, in the manner, which a cold forgery, I apprehend, would neither have conceived nor supported.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

Before we proceed to compare this epistle with the history, or with any other epistle, we will employ one number in stating certain remarks applicable to our argument, which arises from a perusal of the epistle itself.

By an expression in the first verse of the seventh chapter, "now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," it appears, that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St. Paul in answer to one which he had received from them; and that the seventh, and some of the following chapters, are taken up in resolving certain doubts, and regulating certain points of order, concerning which the Corinthians had in their letter consulted him. This alone is a circumstance considerably in favour of the authenticity of the epistle: for it must have been a far-fetched contrivance in a forgery, first to have feigned the receipt of a letter from the Church of Corinth, which letter does not ap-

pear; and then to have drawn up a fictitious answer to it, relative to a great variety of doubts and inquiries, purely economical and domestick; and which, though likely enough to have occurred to an infant society, in a situation and under an institution so novel as that of a Christian church then was, it must have very much exercised the author's invention, and could have answered no imaginable purpose of forgery, to introduce the mention of at all. Particulars of the kind we refer to, are such as the following: the rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins, to widows; the case of husbands married to unconverted wives, of wives having unconverted husbands; that case where the unconverted party chooses to separate, where he chooses to continue the union; the effect which their conversion produced upon their prior state, of circumcision, of slavery; the eating of things offered to idols, as it was in itself, as others were affected by it; the joining in idolatrous sacrifices; the decorum to be observed in their religious assemblies, the order of speaking, the silence of women, the covering or uncovering of the head, as it became men, as it became women. These subjects, with their several sub-divisions, are so particular, minute, and numerous, that, though they be exactly agreeable to the circumstances of the persons to whom the letter was written, nothing, I believe, but the existence and reality of those circumstances, could have suggested to the writer's thoughts.

But this is not the only nor the principal observation upon the correspondence between the church of Corinth and their apostle, which I wish to point out. It appears, I think, in this correspondence, that, although the Corinthians had written to St. Paul, requesting his answer and his directions in the several points above enumerated, yet that they had not said one syllable about the enormities and disorders

which had crept in amongst them, and in the blame of which they all shared; but that St. Paul's information concerning the irregularities then prevailing at Corinth, had come round to him from other quarters. The quarrels and disputes excited by their contentious adherence to their different teachers, and by their placing of them in competition with one another, were not mentioned in their *letter*, but communicated to St. Paul by more private intelligence: "It hath been declared unto me, my brethren, *by them which are of the house of Chloe*, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." (i. 11, 12.) The incestuous marriage "of a man with his father's wife," which St. Paul reprehends with so much severity in the fifth chapter of our epistle, and which was not the crime of an individual only, but a crime in which the whole church, by tolerating and conniving at it, had rendered themselves partakers, did not come to St. Paul's knowledge by the *letter*, but by a rumour which had reached his ears: "*It is reported commonly* that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife; and ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you." (v. 1, 2.) Their going to law before the judicature of the country, rather than arbitrate and adjust their disputes among themselves, which St. Paul animadverts upon with his usual plainness, was not intimated to him in the *letter*, because he tells them his opinion of this conduct, before he comes to the contents of the letter. Their litigiousness is censured by St. Paul in the sixth chapter of his epistle, and it is only at the beginning of the seventh chapter that he proceeds upon the articles which he found in their letter; and he proceeds upon them

with this preface: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," (vii. 1.); which introduction he would not have used, if he had been already discussing any of the subjects concerning which they had written. Their irregularities in celebrating the Lord's supper, and the utter perversion of the institution which ensued, were not in the *letter*, as is evident from the terms in which St. Paul mentions the notice he had received of it: "Now in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye came together not for the better, but for the worse; for first of all, when ye come together in the church, *I hear* that there be divisions among you, and *I partly believe it.*" Now that the Corinthians should, in their own letter, exhibit the fair side of their conduct to the apostle, and conceal from him the faults of their behaviour, was extremely natural, and extremely probable: but it was a distinction which would not, I think, have easily occurred to the author of a forgery; and much less likely is it, that it should have entered into his thoughts to make the distinction *appear* in the way in which it does appear, viz. not by the original letter, not by any express observation upon it in the answer, but distantly by marks perceivable in the manner, or in the order, in which St. Paul takes notice of their faults.

No. II.

Our epistle purports to have been written after St. Paul had already been at Corinth: "I, brethren, *when I came unto you*, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom," (ii. 1.): and in many other places to the same effect. It purports also to have been written upon the eve of another visit to that church: "I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will," (iv. 19.); and again, "I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia." (xvi. 5.) Now the history relates that St. Paul did in fact visit Corinth

twice; once as recorded at length in the eighteenth, and a second time as mentioned briefly in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The same history also informs us, Acts xx. 1, that it was from Ephesus St. Paul proceeded upon his second journey into Greece. Therefore, as the epistle purports to have been written a short time preceding that journey; and as St. Paul, the history tells us, had resided more than two years at Ephesus before he set out upon it, it follows that it must have been from Ephesus, to be consistent with the history, that the epistle was written; and every note of *place* in the epistle agrees with this supposition. "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?" (xv. 32.) I allow that the apostle might say this, wherever he was; but it was more natural and more to the purpose to say it, if he was at Ephesus at the time, and in the midst of those conflicts to which the expression relates. "The churches of Asia salute you." (xvi. 19.) Asia, throughout the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, does not mean the whole of Asia Minor or Anatolia, nor even the whole of the proconsular Asia, but a district in the anteriour part of that country, called Lydian Asia, divided from the rest, much as Portugal is from Spain, and of which district *Ephesus* was the capital.—"Aquila and Priscilla salute you." (xvi. 19.) Aquila and Priscilla were at *Ephesus* during the period within which this epistle was written. (Acts xviii. 18. 26.)—"I will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost." (xvi. 8.) This, I apprehend, is in terms almost asserting that he was at Ephesus at the time of writing the epistle.—"A great and effectual door is opened unto me." (xvi. 9.) How well this declaration corresponded with the state of things at Ephesus, and the progress of the gospel in these parts, we learn from the reflection with which the historian

concludes the account of certain transactions which passed there: "So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed," (Acts xix. 20.); as well as from the complaint of Demetrius, "that not only at Ephesus, but also throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people." (xix. 26.)—"And there are many adversaries," says the epistle, (xvi. 9.) Look into the history of this period: "When divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples." The conformity therefore upon this head of comparison, is circumstantial and perfect. If any one think that this is a conformity so obvious, that any forger of tolerable caution and sagacity would have taken care to preserve it, I must desire such a one to read the epistle for himself; and, when he has done so, to declare whether he has discovered one mark of art or design; whether the notes of *time* and *place* appear to him to be inserted with any reference to each other, with any view of their being compared with each other, or for the purpose of establishing a visible agreement with the history, in respect of them.

No. III.

Chap. iv. 17—19. "For this cause I have sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you; but I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will."

With this I compare Acts xix. 21, 22: "After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and *Achaia*, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see

Rome: *so* he sent unto Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and Erastus."

Though it be not said, it appears I think with sufficient certainty, I mean from the history, independently of the epistle, that Timothy was sent upon this occasion into *Achaia*, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as into Macedonia: for the sending of Timothy and Erastus is, in the passage where it is mentioned, plainly connected with St. Paul's own journey: *he sent them before him.* As he therefore purposed to go into *Achaia* himself, it is highly probable that they were to go thither also. Nevertheless, they are said only to have been sent into Macedonia, because Macedonia was in truth the country to which they went immediately from Ephesus; being directed, as we suppose, to proceed afterwards from thence into Achaia. If this be so, the narrative agrees with the epistle; and the agreement is attended with very little appearance of design. One thing at least concerning it is certain: that if this passage of St. Paul's history had been taken from his letter, it would have sent Timothy to Corinth by name, or expressly however into Achaia.

But there is another circumstance in these two passages much less obvious, in which an agreement holds, without any room for suspicion that it was produced by design. We have observed that the sending of Timothy into the peninsula of Greece was connected in the narrative with St. Paul's own journey thither; it is stated as the effect of the same resolution. Paul purposed to go into Macedonia: "*so* he sent two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus." Now in the Epistle also you remark that, when the apostle mentions his having sent Timothy unto them, in the very next sentence he speaks of his own visit: "for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus,

who is my beloved son, &c. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you; but I will come to you shortly, if God will." Timothy's journey we see is mentioned in the history, and in the epistle, in close connexion with St. Paul's own. Here is the same order of thought and intention; yet conveyed under such diversity of circumstance and expression, and the mention of them in the epistle so allied to the occasion which introduces it, viz. the insinuation of his adversaries that he would come to Corinth no more, that I am persuaded no attentive reader will believe, that these passages were written in concert with one another, or will doubt but that the agreement is unsought and uncontrived.

But, in the Acts, Erastus accompanied Timothy in this journey, of whom no mention is made in the epistle. From what has been said in our observations upon the Epistle to the Romans, it appears probable that Erastus was a Corinthian. If so, though he accompanied Timothy to Corinth, he was only returning home, and Timothy was the messenger charged with St. Paul's orders. At any rate, this discrepancy shews that the passages were not taken from one another.

No. IV.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11. "Now, if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear; for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do: let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me, for I look for him with the brethren."

From the passage considered in the preceding number, it appears that Timothy was sent to Corinth, either with the epistle, or before it: "for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus." From the passage now quoted, we infer that Timothy was not sent *with* the epistle; for had he

been the bearer of the letter, or accompanied it, would St. Paul in that letter have said, "*if* Timothy come?" Nor is the sequel consistent with the supposition of his carrying the letter; for if Timothy was with the Apostle when he wrote the letter, could he say, as he does, "I look for him with the brethren?" I conclude therefore that Timothy had left St. Paul to proceed upon his journey before the letter was written. Further, the passage before us seems to imply, that Timothy was not expected by St. Paul to arrive at Corinth, till after they had received the letter. He gives them directions in the letter how to treat him when he should arrive: "if he come," act towards him so and so. Lastly, the whole form of expression is most naturally applicable to the supposition of Timothy's coming to Corinth, not directly from St. Paul, but from some other quarter; and that his instructions had been when he should reach Corinth, to return. Now, how stands this matter in the history? Turn to the nineteenth chapter and twenty-first verse of the Acts, and you will find that Timothy did not, when sent from Ephesus, where he left St. Paul, and where the present epistle was written, proceed by a straight course to Corinth, but that he went round through Macedonia. This clears up every thing; for, although Timothy was sent forth upon his journey before the letter was written, yet he might not reach Corinth till after the letter arrived there; and he would come to Corinth, when he did come, not directly from St. Paul, at Ephesus, but from some part of Macedonia. Here therefore is a circumstantial and critical agreement, and unquestionably without design; for neither of the two passages in the epistle mentions Timothy's journey into Macedonia at all, though nothing but a circuit of that kind can explain and reconcile the expressions which the writer uses.

No. V.

Chap. i. 12. "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ."

Also iii. 6. "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase."

This expression, "I have planted, Apollos watered," imports two things; first, that Paul had been at Corinth before Apollos; secondly, that Apollos had been at Corinth after Paul, but before the writing of this epistle. This implied account of the several events, and of the order in which they took place, corresponds exactly with the history. St. Paul, after his first visit into Greece, returned from Corinth into Syria by the way of Ephesus; and, dropping his companions Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, he proceeded forwards to Jerusalem: from Jerusalem he descended to Antioch; and from thence made a progress through some of the upper or northern provinces of the Lesser Asia, Acts xviii. 19. 23: during which progress, and consequently in the interval between St. Paul's first and second visit to Corinth, and consequently also before the writing of this epistle, which was at Ephesus two years at least after the apostle's return from his progress, we hear of Apollos, and we hear of him at Corinth. Whilst St. Paul was engaged, as hath been said, in Phrygia and Galatia, Apollos came down to Ephesus; and being, in St. Paul's absence, instructed by Aquila and Priscilla, and having obtained letters of recommendation from the church at Ephesus, he passed over to Achaia; and when he was there, we read that he "helped them much which had believed through grace, for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publickly." Acts xviii. 27, 28. To have brought

Apollos into Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as the principal Christian church; and to have shewn that he preached the gospel in that country, would have been sufficient for our purpose. But the history happens also to mention Corinth by name, as the place in which Apollos, after his arrival in Achaia, fixed his residence; for, proceeding with the account of St. Paul's travels, it tells us, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came down to Ephesus, xix. 1. What is said therefore of Apollos, in the epistle, coincides exactly, and especially in the point of chronology, with what is delivered concerning him in the history. The only question now is, whether the allusions were made with a regard to this coincidence. Now, the occasions and purposes for which the name of Apollos is introduced in the Acts and in the Epistles, are so independent and so remote, that it is impossible to discover the smallest reference from one to the other. Apollos is mentioned in the Acts, in immediate connexion with the history of Aquila and Priscilla, and for the very singular circumstance of his "knowing only the baptism of John." In the epistle, where none of these circumstances are taken notice of, his name first occurs, for the purpose of reproving the contentious spirit of the Corinthians; and it occurs only in conjunction with that of some others: "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." The second passage in which Apollos appears, "I have planted, Apollos watered," fixes, as we have observed, the order of time amongst three distinct events; but it fixes this, I will venture to pronounce, without the writer perceiving that he was doing any such thing. The sentence fixes this order in exact conformity with the history; but it is itself introduced solely for the sake of the reflection

which follows: "Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."

No. VI.

Chap. iv. 11, 12. "Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands."

We are expressly told, in the history, that at Corinth St. Paul laboured with his own hands: "He found Aquila and Priscilla; and, because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought; for by their occupation they were tent-makers." But, in the text before us, he is made to say, that "he laboured *even unto the present hour*," that is, to the time of writing the epistle at Ephesus. Now, in the narration of St. Paul's transaction at Ephesus, delivered in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, nothing is said of his working with his own hands; but in the twentieth chapter we read, that upon his return from Greece, he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus, to meet him at Miletus; and in the discourse which he there addressed to them, amidst some other reflections which he calls to their remembrance, we find the following: "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, you yourselves also know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me." The reader will not forget to remark, that though St. Paul be now at Miletus, it is to the elders of the church of Ephesus he is speaking, when he says, "Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities;" and that the whole discourse relates to his conduct, during his last preceding residence at Ephesus. That manual labour therefore, which he had exercised at Corinth, he continued

at Ephesus; and not only so, but continued it during that particular residence at Ephesus, near the conclusion of which this epistle was written; so that he might, with the strictest truth, say, at the time of writing the epistle, "Even *unto this present hour* we labour, working with our own hands." The correspondency is sufficient then, as to the undesignedness of it. It is manifest to my judgment, that if the history, in this article, had been taken from the epistle, this circumstance, if it appeared at all, would have appeared in its *place*, that is, in the direct account of St. Paul's transactions at Ephesus. The correspondency would not have been affected, as it is, by a kind of reflected stroke, that is, by a reference in a subsequent speech, to what in the narrative was omitted. Nor is it likely, on the other hand, that a circumstance which is not extant in the history of St. Paul at Ephesus, should have been made the subject of a factitious allusion, in an epistle purporting to be written by him from that place: not to mention that the allusion itself, especially as to time, is too oblique and general to answer any purpose of forgery whatever.

No. VII.

Chap. ix. 20. "And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law."

We have the disposition here described, exemplified in two instances which the history records; one, Acts xvi. 3: "Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews in those quarters;* for they knew all that his father was a Greek." This was before the writing of the epistle. The other, Acts xxi. 23, 26, and after the writing of the epistle: "Do this that we say to thee; we have four men which have a vow on them: them take, and purify thyself with them,

that they may shave their heads; and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.—Then Paul took the men, and the next day, *purifying himself with them, entered into the temple.*" Nor does this concurrence between the character and the instances look like the result of contrivance. St. Paul, in the epistle, describes, or is made to describe, his own accommodating conduct towards Jews and towards Gentiles, towards the weak and over-scrupulous, towards men indeed of every variety of character; to "them that are without law as without law, being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might gain some." This is the sequel of the text which stands at the head of the present number. Taking therefore the whole passage together, the apostle's condescension to the Jews is mentioned only as a part of his general disposition towards all. It is not probable that this character should have been made up from the instances in the Acts, which relate solely to his dealings with the Jews. It is not probable that a sophist should take his hint from those instances, and then extend it so much beyond them: and it is still more incredible that the two instances in the Acts, circumstantially related and interwoven with the history, should have been fabricated in order to suit the character which St. Paul gives of himself in the epistle.

No. VIII.

Chap. i. 14—17. "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I baptized in my own name; and I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any

other; for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."

It may be expected, that those whom the apostle baptized with his own hands, were converts distinguished from the rest by some circumstance, either of eminence, or of connexion with him. Accordingly, of the three names here mentioned, Crispus, we find, from Acts xviii. 8, was a "chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth, who believed in the Lord, with all his house." Gaius, it appears from Romans xvi. 23, was St. Paul's host at Corinth, and the host, he tells us, "of the whole church." The household of Stephanas, we read in the sixteenth chapter of this epistle, "were the first fruits of Achaia." Here therefore is the propriety we expected: and it is a proof of reality not to be contemned; for their names appearing in the several places in which they occur, with a mark of distinction belonging to each, could hardly be the effect of chance, without any truth to direct it: and, on the other hand, to suppose that they were picked out from these passages, and brought together in the text before us, in order to display a conformity of names, is both improbable in itself, and is rendered more so, by the purpose for which they are introduced. They come in to assist St. Paul's exculpation of himself, against the possible charge, of having assumed the character of the founder of a separate religion, and with no other visible, or, as I think, imaginable design*.

* Chap. i. 1. "Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God, and Sosthenes, our brother, unto the church of God, which is at Corinth." The only account we have of any person who bore the name of Sosthenes, is found in the eighteenth chapter of Acts. When the Jews at Corinth had brought Paul before Gallio, and Gallio had dismissed their complaint as unworthy of his interference, and had driven them from the judgment seat; "then all the Greeks," says the historian, "took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat

No. IX.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11. "Now, if Timotheus come, let no man despise him."—Why *despise* him? This charge is not given concerning any other messenger whom St. Paul sent; and, in the different epistles, many such messengers are

him before the judgment seat." The Sosthenes here spoken of was a Corinthian; and if he was a Christian, and with St. Paul when he wrote this epistle, was likely enough to be joined with him in the salutation of the Corinthian church. But here occurs a difficulty. If Sosthenes was a Christian at the time of this uproar, why should the *Greeks* beat him! The assault upon the Christians was made by the *Jews*. It was the *Jews* who had brought Paul before the magistrate. If it had been the Jews also who had beaten Sosthenes, I should not have doubted but that he had been a favourer of St. Paul, and the same person who is joined with him in the epistle. Let us see therefore whether there be not some errour in our present text. The Alexandrian manuscript gives παντες alone, without οι Ελληνες, and is followed in this reading by the Coptick version, by the Arabick version, published by Erpenius, by the Vulgate, and by Bede's Latin version. Three Greek manuscripts again, as well as Chrysostom, give οι Ιουδαιοι, in the place οι Ελληνες. A great plurality of manuscripts authorize the reading which is retained in our copies. In this variety it appears to me extremely probable that the historian originally wrote παντες alone, and that οι Ελληνες, and οι Ιουδαιοι have been respectively added as explanatory of what the word παντες was supposed to mean. The sentence, without the addition of either name, would run very perspicuously thus, "Και απηλασεν αυτους απο του βηματος· επιλαβομενοι δε παντες Σωσθενην τον αρχισυναγωγον, ετυπτον εμπροσθεν του βηματος· and he drove them away from the judgment seat; and they all," viz. the crowd of Jews whom the Judge had bid begone, "took Sosthenes, and beat him before the judgment seat" It is certain that, as the whole body of the people were Greeks, the application of *all* to them is unusual and hard. If I was describing an insurrection at Paris, I might say *all* the Jews, *all* the Protestants, or *all* the English acted so and so; but I should scarcely say *all* the French, when the whole mass of the community were of that description. As what is here offered is founded upon a various reading, and that in opposition to the greater part of the manuscripts that are extant, I have not given it a place in the text.

mentioned. Turn to 1 Timothy, chap. iv. 12, and you will find that Timothy was a *young man*, younger probably than those who were usually employed in the Christian mission; and that St. Paul, apprehending lest he should, on that account, be exposed to contempt, urges upon him the caution, which is there inserted, "Let no man despise thy youth."

No. X.

Chap. xvi. 1. "Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye."

The churches of Galatia and Phrygia were the last churches which St. Paul had visited before the writing of this epistle. He was now at Ephesus, and he came thither immediately from visiting these churches: "He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening all the disciples. And it came to pass that Paul having passed through the upper coasts," (viz. the above-named countries, called the upper coasts, as being the northern part of Asia Minor,) "came to Ephesus." Acts xviii. 23; xix. 1. These therefore, probably, were the last churches at which he had left directions for their publick conduct during his absence. Although two years intervened between his journey to Ephesus, and his writing this epistle, yet it does not appear that during that time he visited any other church. That he had not been silent when he was in Galatia, upon this subject of contribution for the poor, is further made out from a hint which he lets fall in his epistle to that church: "Only they (viz. the other apostles) would that we should remember the poor, the same also which I was forward to do."

No. XI.

Chap. iv. 18. "Now, some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you."

Why should they suppose that he would not come? Turn to the first chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and you will find that he had already *disappointed* them: "I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judæa. When I, therefore, was thus minded, did I use lightness? Or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay? But, as God is true, our word toward you was not yea and nay." It appears from this quotation, that he had not only intended, but that he had promised them a visit before; for, otherwise, why should he apologize for the change of his purpose, or express so much anxiety lest this change should be imputed to any culpable fickleness in his temper; and lest he should thereby seem to them, as one whose word was not, in any sort, to be depended upon? Besides which, the terms made use of, plainly refer to a promise, "Our *word toward you* was not yea and nay." St. Paul therefore had signified an intention which he had not been able to execute; and this seeming breach of his word, and the delay of his visit, had, with some who were evil affected towards him, given birth to a suggestion that he would come no more to Corinth.

No. XII.

Chap. v. 7, 8. "For even Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old

leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Dr. Benson tells us, that from this passage, compared with chapter xvi. 8, it has been conjectured that this epistle was written about the time of the Jewish passover; and to me the conjecture appears to be very well founded. The passage to which Dr. Benson refers us is this: "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." With this passage he ought to have joined another in the same context: "And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you:" for, from the two passages laid together, it follows that the epistle was written before Pentecost, yet after winter; which necessarily determines the date to the part of the year, within which the passover falls. It was written before Pentecost, because he says, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." It was written after winter, because he tells them, "It may be that I may abide, yea, and winter with you." The winter which the apostle purposed to pass at Corinth, was undoubtedly the winter next ensuing to the date of the epistle; yet it was a winter subsequent to the ensuing Pentecost, because he did not intend to set forwards upon his journey till after the feast. The words, "let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," look very like words suggested by the season; at least they have, upon that supposition, a force and significancy which do not belong to them upon any other; and it is not a little remarkable, that the hints casually dropped in the epistle, concerning particular parts of the year, should coincide with this supposition.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

I WILL not say that it is impossible, having seen the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to construct a second with ostensible allusions to the first; or that it is impossible that both should be fabricated, so as to carry on an order and continuation of story, by successive references to the same events. But I say, that this, in either case, must be the effect of craft and design. Whereas, whoever examines the allusions to the former epistle which he finds in this, whilst he will acknowledge them to be such as would rise spontaneously to the hand of the writer, from the very subject of the correspondence, and the situation of the corresponding parties, supposing these to be real, will see no particle of reason to suspect, either that the clauses containing these allusions were *insertions* for the purpose, or that the several transactions of the Corinthian church were feigned, in order to form a train of narrative, or to support the appearance of connexion between the two epistles.

1. In the First Epistle, St. Paul announces his intention of passing through Macedonia, in his way to Corinth: "I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia." In the Second Epistle, we find him arrived in Macedonia, and about to pursue his journey to Corinth. But observe the manner in which this is made to appear: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal had provoked very many: yet have I sent the brethren,

lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready, lest haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) be ashamed in this same confident boasting." (Chap. ix. 2, 3, 4.) St. Paul's being in Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle, is, in this passage, inferred only from his saying, that he had boasted to the Macedonians of the alacrity of his Achaian converts; and the fear which he expresses, lest, if any of the Macedonian Christians should come with him unto Achaia, they should find his boasting unwarranted by the event. The business of the contribution is the sole cause of mentioning Macedonia at all. Will it be insinuated that this passage was framed merely to state that St. Paul was now in Macedonia; and, by that statement, to produce an apparent agreement with the purpose of visiting Macedonia, notified in the First Epistle? Or will it be thought probable, that, if a sophist had meant to place St. Paul in Macedonia, for the sake of giving countenance to his forgery, he would have done it in so oblique a manner as through the medium of the contribution? The same thing may be observed of another text in the epistle, in which the name of Macedonia occurs: "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach the gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." I mean, that it may be observed of this passage also, that there is a reason for mentioning Macedonia, entirely distinct from the purpose of showing St. Paul to be *there*. Indeed, if the passage before us show that point at all, it shows it so obscurely, that Grotius, though he did not doubt that Paul was now in Macedonia, refers this text to a different journey. Is this the hand of a forger,

meditating to establish a false conformity? The text, however, in which it is most strongly implied that St. Paul wrote the present epistle from Macedonia, is found in the fourth, fifth, and sixth verses of the seventh chapter: "I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation; for, when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest; without were fightings, within were fears: nevertheless, God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." Yet even here, I think, no one will contend, that St. Paul's coming to Macedonia, or being in Macedonia, was the principal thing intended to be told; or that the telling of it, indeed, was any part of the intention with which the text was written; or that the mention even of the name of Macedonia was not purely incidental, in the description of those tumultuous sorrows with which the writer's mind had been lately agitated, and from which he was relieved by the coming of Titus. The five first verses of the eighth chapter, which commend the liberality of the Macedonian churches, do not, in my opinion, by themselves, prove St. Paul to have been in Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle.

2. In the First Epistle, St. Paul denounces a severe censure against an incestuous marriage, which had taken place amongst the Corinthian converts, with the connivance, not to say with the approbation, of the church; and enjoins the church to purge itself of this scandal, by expelling the offender from its society: "It is reported commonly, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication, as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife; and ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you; for I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though

I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed; in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." (Chap. v. 1—5.) In the Second Epistle, we find this sentence executed, and the offender to be so affected with the punishment, that St. Paul now intercedes for his restoration. "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many; so that, contrariwise, ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow; wherefore I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love towards him." (2 Cor. chap. ii. 7, 8.) Is this whole business feigned for the sake of carrying on a continuation of story through the two epistles? The church also, no less than the offender, was brought by St. Paul's reproof to a deep sense of the impropriety of their conduct. Their penitence, and their respect to his authority, were, as might be expected, exceedingly grateful to St. Paul: "We were comforted not by Titus's coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind towards me, so that I rejoiced the more; for, though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent; for I perceive that the same epistle made you sorry, though it were but for a season. Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance; for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing." (Chap. vii. 7—9.) That this passage is to be referred to the incestuous marriage, is proved by the twelfth verse of the same chapter: "Though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done

the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong; but that our care for you, in the sight of God, might appear unto you." There were, it is true, various topicks of blame noticed in the First Epistle; but there was none, except this of the incestuous marriage, which could be called a transaction between private parties, or of which it could be said that one particular person had "done the wrong," and another particular person "had suffered it." Could all this be without foundation? or could it be put into the second epistle, merely to furnish an obscure sequel to what had been said about an incestuous marriage in the first?

3. In the sixteenth chapter of the First Epistle, a collection for the saints is recommended to be set forwards at Corinth: "Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, so do ye." (Chap. xvi. 1.) In the ninth chapter of the Second Epistle, such a collection is spoken of, as in readiness to be received: "As touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you, for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many." (Chap. ix. 1, 2.) This is such a continuation of the transaction as might be expected; or, possibly it will be said, as might easily be counterfeited: but there is a circumstance of nicety in the agreement between the two epistles, which, I am convinced, the author of a forgery would not have hit upon, or which, if he had hit upon it, he would have set forth with more clearness. The Second Epistle speaks of the Corinthians as having begun this eleemosynary business a year before: "This is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago." (Chap. viii. 10.) "I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia

was ready a year ago." (Chap. ix. 2.) From these texts it is evident, that something had been done in the business a year before. It appears, however, from other texts in the epistle, that the contribution was not yet collected or paid; for brethren were sent from St. Paul to Corinth, "to make up their bounty." (Chap. ix. 5.) They are urged to "perform the doing of it." (Chap. viii. 11.) "And every man was exhorted to give as he purposed in his heart." (Chap. ix. 7.) The contribution, therefore, as represented in our present epistle, was in readiness, yet not received from the contributors: was begun, was forward long before, yet not hitherto collected. Now this representation agrees with one, and only with one, supposition, namely, that every man had laid by in store, had already provided the fund, from which he was afterwards to contribute—the very case which the First Epistle authorizes us to suppose to have existed; for in that epistle St. Paul had charged the Corinthians, "upon the first day of the week, every one of them to lay by in store as God had prospered him*." (1 Cor. chap. xvi. 2.)

* The following observations will satisfy us concerning the purity of our apostle's conduct in the suspicious business of a pecuniary contribution.

1. He disclaims the having received any inspired authority for the directions which he is giving: "I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love." (2 Cor. chap. viii. 8.) Who, that had a sinister purpose to answer by the recommending of subscriptions, would thus distinguish, and thus lower the credit of his own recommendation?

2. Although he asserts the general right of Christian ministers to a maintenance from their ministry, yet he protests against the making use of this right in his own person: "Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel; but I have used none of these things, neither have I written these things that it

No. II.

In comparing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians with the Acts of the Apostles, we are soon brought to observe, not only that there exists no vestige either of the epistle having been taken from the history, or the history from the epistle; but also that there appears in the contents of the epistle positive evidence, that neither was borrowed from the other. Titus, who bears a conspicuous part in the epistle, is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles at all. St. Paul's sufferings, enumerated, chap. xi. 24. "of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in

should be so done unto me; for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying, i. e. my professions of disinterestedness, void." (1 Cor. chap. ix. 14, 15.)

3. He repeatedly proposes that there should be associates with himself in the management of the publick bounty; not colleagues of his own appointment; but persons elected for that purpose by the contributors themselves: "And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." (1 Cor. chap. xvi. 3, 4.) And in the Second Epistle, what is here proposed, we find actually done, and done for the very purpose of guarding his character against any imputation that might be brought upon it, in the discharge of a pecuniary trust: "And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches: and not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace (gift) which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and the declaration of your ready mind; avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us; providing for things honest, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men;" i. e. "not resting in the consciousness of our own integrity, but, in such a subject, careful also to approve our integrity to the publick judgment." (2 Cor. chap. viii. 18—21.)

the deep," cannot be made out from his history, as delivered in the Acts, nor would this account have been given by a writer, who either drew his knowledge of St. Paul from that history, or who was careful to preserve a conformity with it. The account in the epistle, of St. Paul's escape from Damascus, though agreeing in the main fact with the account of the same transaction in the Acts, is related with such difference of circumstance, as renders it utterly improbable that one should be derived from the other. The two accounts, placed by the side of each other, stand as follows:

2 Cor. chap. xi. 32, 33. "In Damascus, the governour under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend *me;* and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands."	Acts chap. ix. 23—25. "And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him; but their laying in wait was known of Saul, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him; then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket."

Now if we be satisfied in general concerning these two ancient writings, that the one was not known to the writer of the other, or not consulted by him; then the accordances which may be pointed out between them, will admit of no solution so probable, as the attributing of them to truth and reality, as their common foundation.

No. III.

The opening of this epistle exhibits a connexion with the history, which alone would satisfy my mind, that the epistle was written by St. Paul, and by St. Paul in the situation in which the history places him. Let it be remembered, that in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, St. Paul is rep-

resented as driven away from Ephesus, or as leaving however Ephesus, in consequence of an uproar in that city, excited by some interested adversaries of the new religion. The account of the tumult is as follows: "When they heard these sayings," viz. Demetrius's complaint of the danger to be apprehended from St. Paul's ministry to the established worship of the Ephesian goddess, "they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, and the whole city was filled with confusion; and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre; and when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not; and certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. Some, therefore, cried one thing, and some another; for the assembly was confused, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward; and Alexander beckoned with his hand, and would have made his defence unto the people; but, when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice, about the space of two hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.—And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." When he was arrived in Macedonia he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians which is now before us; and he begins his epistle in this wise: "Blessed be God, even the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God. For, as

the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ: and whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings, which we also suffer; or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation; and our hope of you is steadfast, knowing that, as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation. For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble *which came to us in Asia*, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life; but we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raises the dead, who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us." Nothing could be more expressive of the circumstances in which the history describes St. Paul to have been, at the time when the epistle purports to be written; or rather, nothing could be more expressive of the sensations arising from these circumstances, than this passage. It is the calm recollection of a mind emerged from the confusion of instant danger. It is that devotion and solemnity of thought, which follows a recent deliverance. There is just enough of particularity in the passage, to show that it is to be referred to the tumult at Ephesus; "We would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia." And there is nothing more; no mention of Demetrius, of the seizure of St. Paul's friends, of the interference of the town-clerk, of the occasion or nature of the danger which St. Paul had escaped, or even of the city where it happened; in a word, no recital from which a suspicion could be conceived, either that the author of the epistle had made use of the narrative in the Acts; or on the other hand, that he had sketched the outline, which the narrative in the Acts only filled up. That

the forger of an epistle, under the name of St. Paul, should borrow circumstances from a history of St. Paul then extant; or, that the author of a history of St. Paul should gather materials from letters bearing St. Paul's name, may be credited: but I cannot believe that any forger whatever should fall upon an expedient so refined, as to exhibit sentiments adapted to a situation, and to leave his readers to seek out that situation from the history; still less, that the author of a history should go about to frame facts and circumstances, fitted to supply the sentiments which he found in the letter. It may be said, perhaps, that it does not appear from the history, that any danger threatened St. Paul's life in the uproar at Ephesus, so imminent as that, from which in the epistle he represents himself to have been delivered. This matter, it is true, is not stated by the historian in form; but the personal danger of the apostle, we cannot doubt must have been extreme, when the "whole city was filled with confusion;" when the populace had "seized his companions;" when, in the distraction of his mind, he insisted upon "coming forth amongst them;" when the Christians who were about him "would not suffer him;" when "his friends, certain of the chief of Asia, sent to him, desiring that he would not adventure himself in the tumult;" when, lastly, he was obliged to quit immediately the place and the country, "and, when the tumult was ceased, to depart into Macedonia." All which particulars are found in the narration, and justify St. Paul's own account, "that he was pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that he despaired even of life, that he had the sentence of death in himself;" i. e. that he looked upon himself as a man condemned to die.

No. IV.

It has already been remarked, that St. Paul's original intention was to have visited Corinth in his way to Macedonia: "I was minded to come unto you before, and to pass by you into Macedonia." 2 Cor. chap. i. 15, 16. It has also been remarked that he changed this intention, and ultimately resolved upon going through Macedonia *first*. Now upon this head there exists a circumstance of correspondency between our epistle and the history, which is not very obvious to the reader's observation; but which, when observed, will be found, I think, close and exact. Which circumstance is this: that though the change of St. Paul's intention be expressly mentioned only in the second epistle, yet it appears, both from the history and from this second epistle, that the change had taken place before the writing of the first epistle; that it appears however from neither, otherwise than by an inference, unnoticed perhaps by almost every one who does not sit down professedly to the examination.

First, then, how does this point appear from the history? In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-first verse, we are told, that "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." A short time after this, and evidently in pursuance of the same intention, we find (chap. xx. 1, 2.) that "Paul departed from Ephesus for to go into Macedonia; and that, when he had gone over those parts, he came into Greece." The resolution therefore of passing first through Macedonia, and from thence into Greece, was formed by St. Paul previously to the sending away of Timothy. The order in which the two

countries are mentioned, shows the direction of his intended route, "when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia." Timothy and Erastus, who were to precede him in his progress, were sent by him from Ephesus into Macedonia. He himself a short time afterwards, and, as hath been observed, evidently in continuation and pursuance of the same design, "departed for to go into Macedonia." If he had ever therefore entertained a different plan of his journey, which is not hinted in the history, he must have changed that plan before this time. But, from the 17th verse of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we discover, that Timothy had been sent away from Ephesus before that epistle was written: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son." The change therefore of St. Paul's resolution, which was prior to the sending away of Timothy, was necessarily prior to the writing of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Thus stands the order of dates, as collected from the history, compared with the First Epistle. Now let us inquire, secondly, how this matter is represented in the epistle before us. In the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of this epistle, St. Paul speaks of the intention which he had once entertained of visiting Achaia, in his way to Macedonia: "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia." After protesting, in the seventeenth verse, against any evil construction that might be put upon his laying aside of this intention, in the twenty-third verse he discloses the cause of it: "Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul, that, to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth." And then he proceeds as follows: "But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness; for if I make you

sorry, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me? *And I wrote this same unto you*, lest when I came I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all: for, out of much affliction and anguish of heart, *I wrote unto you with many tears*; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you; but if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me but in part, that I may not overcharge you all. Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many." In this quotation, let the reader first direct his attention to the clause marked by Italicks, "and I wrote this same unto you;" and let him consider, whether from the context, and from the structure of the whole passage, it be not evident that this writing was after St. Paul had "determined with himself, that he would not come again to them in heaviness?" whether, indeed, it was not in consequence of this determination, or at least with this determination upon his mind? And, in the next place, let him consider, whether the sentence, "I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness," do not plainly refer to that postponing of his visit, to which he had alluded in the verse but one before, when he said, "I call God for a record upon my soul, that, to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth;" and whether this be not the visit of which he speaks in the sixteenth verse, wherein he informs the Corinthians, "that he had been minded to pass by them into Macedonia;" but that, for reasons which argued no levity or fickleness in his disposition, he had been compelled to change his purpose. If this be so, then it follows that the writing here mentioned was posteriour to the change of his intention. The only question, therefore, that remains, will be, whether this writing relate to the letter

which we now have under the title of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, or to some other letter not extant? And upon this question I think Mr. Locke's observation decisive; namely, that the second clause marked in the quotation by Italicks, "I wrote unto you with many tears," and the first clause so marked, "I wrote this same unto you," belong to one writing, whatever that was; and that the second clause goes on to advert to a circumstance which is found in our present First Epistle to the Corinthians; namely, the case and punishment of the incestuous person. Upon the whole, then, we see, that it is capable of being inferred from St. Paul's own words, in the long extract which we have quoted, that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written after St. Paul had determined to postpone his journey to Corinth; in other words, that the change of his purpose, with respect to the course of his journey, though expressly mentioned only in the Second Epistle, had taken place before the writing of the First; the point which we made out to be implied in the history, by the order of the events there recorded, and the allusions to those events in the First Epistle. Now this is a species of congruity of all others the most to be relied upon. It is not an agreement between two accounts of the same transaction, or between different statements of the same fact, for the fact is not stated; nothing that can be called an account is given; but it is the junction of two conclusions, deduced from independent sources, and deducible only by investigation and comparison.

This point, viz. the change of the route, being prior to the writing of the first epistle, also falls in with, and accounts for, the manner in which he speaks in that epistle of his journey. His first intention had been, as he here declares, to "pass by them into Macedonia:" that intention having been previously given up, he writes, in his First

Epistle, "that he would not see them now by the way," i. e. as he must have done upon his first plan; but that he trusted to tarry awhile with them, and possibly to abide, yea, and winter with them." 1. Cor. chap. xvi. 5. 6. It also accounts for a singularity in the text referred to, which must strike every reader: "I will come to you when I pass through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia." The supplemental sentence, "for I do pass through Macedonia," imports that there had been some previous communication upon the subject of the journey; and also that there had been some vacillation and indecisiveness in the apostle's plan; both which we now perceive to have been the case. The sentence is as much as to say, "This is what I at last resolve upon." The expression, "ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω," is ambiguous; it may denote either "when I pass, or when I shall have passed, through Macedonia:" the considerations offered above fix it to the latter sense. Lastly, the point we have endeavoured to make out, confirms, or rather, indeed, is necessary to the support of a conjecture, which forms the subject of a number in our observations upon the First Epistle, that the insinuation of certain of the church of Corinth, that he would come no more amongst them, was founded in some previous disappointment of their expectations.

No. V.

But if St. Paul had changed his purpose before the writing of the First Epistle, why did he defer explaining himself to the Corinthians, concerning the reason of that change, until he wrote the Second? This is a very fair question; and we are able, I think, to return to it a satisfactory answer. The real cause, and the cause at length assigned by St. Paul for postponing his visit to Corinth, and not travelling by the route which he had at first designed,

was the disorderly state of the Corinthian church at the time, and the painful severities which he should have found himself obliged to exercise, if he had come amongst them during the existence of these irregularities. He was willing therefore to try, before he came in person, what a letter of authoritative objurgation would do amongst them, and to leave time for the operation of the experiment. That was his scheme in writing the First Epistle. But it was not for him to acquaint them with the scheme. After the epistle had produced its effect (and to the utmost extent, as it should seem, of the apostle's hopes); when he had wrought in them a deep sense of their fault, and an almost passionate solicitude to restore themselves to the approbation of their teacher; when Titus (chap. vii. 6, 7, 11.) had brought him intelligence "of their earnest desire, their mourning, their fervent mind towards him, of their sorrow and their penitence; what carefulness, what clearing of themselves, what indignation, what fear, what vehement desire, what zeal, what revenge," his letter, and the general concern occasioned by it, had excited amongst them; he then opens himself fully upon the subject. The affectionate mind of the apostle is touched by this return of zeal and duty. He tells them that he did not visit them at the time proposed, lest their meeting should have been attended with mutual grief; and with grief to him embittered by the reflection, that he was giving pain to those, from whom alone he could receive comfort. "I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness; for if I make you sorry, who is he that maketh me glad but the same which is made sorry by me?" (chap. ii. 1, 2.) that he had written his former epistle to warn them beforehand of their fault, "lest when he came he should have sorrow of them of whom he ought to rejoice;" (chap. ii. 3.) that he had the farther view, though perhaps unperceived by them,

of making an experiment of their fidelity, "to know the proof of them, whether they were obedient in all things." (chap. ii. 9.) This full discovery of his motive came very naturally from the apostle, after he had seen the success of his measures, but would not have been a seasonable communication before. The whole composes a train of sentiment and of conduct resulting from real situation, and from real circumstance, and as remote as possible from fiction or imposture.

No. VI.

Chap. xi. 9. "When I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied." The principal fact set forth in this passage, the arrival at Corinth of brethren from Macedonia during St. Paul's first residence in that city, is explicitly recorded, Acts, chap. xviii. 1, 5. "After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ."

No. VII.

The above quotation from the Acts proves that Silas and Timotheus were assisting to St. Paul in preaching the gospel at Corinth. With which correspond the words of the epistle (chap. i. 19.): "For the son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea." I do admit that the correspondency, considered by itself, is too direct and obvious; and that an impostor with the history before him might, and probably would, produce agreements of the same kind. But let it be remembered, that this reference is found in a writing, which

from many discrepancies, and especially from those noted No. II. we may conclude, was not composed by any one who had consulted, and who pursued the history. Some observation also arises upon the variation of the name. We read Silas in the Acts, Silvanus in the epistle. The similitude of these two names, if they were the names of different persons, is greater than could easily have proceeded from accident; I mean that it is not probable, that two persons placed in situations so much alike, should bear names so nearly resembling each other*. On the other hand, the difference of the name in the two passages negatives the supposition of the passages, or the account contained in them, being transcribed either from the other.

No. VIII.

Chap. ii. 12, 13. "When I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia."

To establish a conformity between this passage and the history, nothing more is necessary to be presumed, than that St. Paul proceeded from Ephesus to Macedonia, upon the same course by which he came back from Macedonia to Ephesus, or rather to Miletus in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; in other words, that, in his journey to the peninsula of Greece, he went and returned the same way. St. Paul is now in Macedonia, where he had lately arrived from Ephesus. Our quotation imports that in his journey he had stopped at Troas. Of this, the history says nothing,

* That they were the same person is further confirmed by 1 Thess. chap. i. 1, compared with Acts. chap. xvii. 10.

leaving us only the short account, "that Paul departed from Ephesus, for to go into Macedonia." But the history says, that in his *return* from Macedonia to Ephesus, "Paul sailed from Philippi to *Troas*; and that, when the disciples came together on the first day of the week to break bread, Paul preached unto them all night; that from Troas he went by land to Assos; from Assos, taking ship and coasting along the front of Asia Minor, he came by Mitylene to Miletus." Which account proves, first, that Troas lay in the way by which St. Paul passed between Ephesus and Macedonia; secondly, that he had disciples there. In one journey between these two places, the epistle, and in another journey between the same places, the history makes him stop at this city. Of the first journey he is made to say, "that a door was in that city opened unto him of the Lord;" in the second we find disciples there collected around him, and the apostle exercising his ministry, with, what was even in him, more than ordinary zeal and labour. The epistle therefore is in this instance confirmed, if not by the terms, at least by the probability of the history; a species of confirmation by no means to be despised, because, as far as it reaches, it is evidently uncontrived.

Grotius, I know, refers the arrival at Troas, to which the epistle alludes, to a different period, but I think very improbably; for nothing appears to me more certain, than that the meeting with Titus, which St. Paul expected at Troas, was the same meeting which took place in Macedonia, viz. upon Titus's coming out of Greece. In the quotation before us, he tells the Corinthians, "When I came to Troas, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but, taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." Then in the seventh chapter he writes, "When we were come into Macedonia,

our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears; nevertheless, God, that comforteth them that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." These two passages plainly relate to the same journey of Titus, in meeting with whom St. Paul had been disappointed at Troas, and rejoiced in Macedonia. And amongst other reasons which fix the former passage to the coming of Titus out of Greece, is the consideration, that it was nothing to the Corinthians that St. Paul did not meet with Titus at Troas, were it not that he was to bring intelligence from Corinth. The mention of the disappointment in this place, upon any other supposition, is irrelative.

No. IX.

Chap. xi. 24, 25. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep."

These particulars cannot be extracted out of the Acts of the Apostles; which proves, as hath been already observed, that the epistle was not framed from the history; yet they are consistent with it, which, considering how numerically circumstantial the account is, is more than could happen to arbitrary and independent fictions. When I say that these particulars are *consistent* with the history, I mean, first, that there is no article in the enumeration which is contradicted by the history; secondly, that the history, though silent with respect to many of the facts here enumerated, has left space for the existence of these facts, consistent with the fidelity of its own narration.

First, no contradiction is discoverable between the epistle and the history. When St. Paul says, *thrice* was I

beaten with rods, although the history records only *one* beating with rods, viz. at Philippi, Acts xvi. 22. yet is there no contradiction. It is only the omission in one book of what is related in another. But had the history contained accounts of *four* beatings with rods, at the time of writing this epistle, in which St. Paul says that he had only suffered three, there would have been a contradiction properly so called. The same observation applies generally to the other parts of the enumeration, concerning which the history is silent: but there is one clause in the quotation particularly deserving of remark; because, when confronted with the history, it furnishes the nearest approach to a contradiction, without a contradiction being actually incurred, of any I remember to have met with. "Once," saith St. Paul, "was I stoned." Does the history relate that St. Paul, prior to the writing of this epistle, had been stoned more than once? The history mentions distinctly one occasion upon which St. Paul was stoned, viz. at Lystra in Lycaonia. "Then came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." (Chap. xiv. 19.) And it mentions also another occasion in which "an assault was made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them; but they were aware of it," the history proceeds to tell us, "and fled into Lystra and Derbe." This happened at Iconium, prior to the date of the epistle. Now had the assault been completed; had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions; or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions were "aware of their danger and fled," a

contradiction between the history and the epistle would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent: but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it.

Secondly, I say, that if the Acts of the Apostles be silent concerning many of the instances enumerated in the epistle, this silence may be accounted for, from the plan and fabrick of the history. The date of the epistle synchronises with the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The part, therefore, of the history, which precedes the twentieth chapter, is the only part in which can be found any notice of the persecutions to which St. Paul refers. Now it does not appear that the author of the history was with St. Paul until his departure from Troas, on his way to Macedonia, as related chap. xvi. 10; or rather indeed the contrary appears. It is in this point of the history that the language changes. In the seventh and eighth verses of this chapter the third person is used. "After *they* were come to Mysia, *they* assayed to go into Bythinia, but the Spirit suffered them not; and *they* passing by Mysia came to Troas:" and the third person is in like manner constantly used throughout the foregoing part of the history. In the tenth verse of this chapter, the first person comes in. "After Paul had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia; assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the gospel unto them." Now, from this time to the writing of the epistle, the history occupies four chapters; yet it is in these, if in any, that a regular or continued account of the apostle's life is to be expected; for how succinctly his history is delivered in the preceding part of the book, that is to say, from the time of his conversion to the time when the historian joined him at Troas,

except the particulars of his conversion itself which are related circumstantially, may be understood from the following observations:

The history of a period of sixteen years is comprised in less than three chapters; and of these, a material part is taken up with discourses. After his conversion, he continued in the neighbourhood of Damascus, according to the history, for a certain considerable, though indefinite length of time, according to his own words (Gal. i. 18.) for three years; of which no other account is given than this short one, that "straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God; that all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on his name in Jerusalem? that he increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus; and that, after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him." From Damascus he proceeded to Jerusalem; and of his residence there nothing more particular is recorded, than that "he was with the apostles, coming in and going out; that he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians who went about to kill him." From Jerusalem, the history sends him to his native city of Tarsus*. It seems probable, from the order and disposition of the history, that St. Paul's stay at Tarsus was of some continuance; for we hear nothing more of him, until, after a long apparent interval, and much interjacent narrative, Barnabas, desirous of Paul's assistance upon the enlargement of the Christian mission, "went to Tarsus for to seek him†." We cannot doubt but that the new apostle had been busied in his ministry: yet of what he did, or what he suffered,

* Acts, chap. ix. 30. † Chap. xi. 25.

during this period, which may include three or four years, the history professes not to deliver any information. As Tarsus was situated upon the seacoast, and as, though Tarsus was his home, yet it is probable he visited from thence many other places, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, it is not unlikely, that in the course of three or four years, he might undertake many short voyages to neighbouring countries, in the navigating of which we may be allowed to suppose that some of those disasters and shipwrecks befel him, to which he refers in the quotation before us, "thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep." This last clause I am inclined to interpret of his being obliged to take to an open boat, upon the loss of the ship, and his continuing out at sea in that dangerous situation, a night and a day. St. Paul is here recounting his sufferings, not relating miracles. From Tarsus, Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch, and there he remained a year: but of the transactions of that year no other description is given than what is contained in the four last verses of the eleventh chapter. After a more solemn dedication to the ministry, Barnabas and Paul proceeded from Antioch to Cilicia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus, of which voyage no particulars are mentioned. Upon their return from Cyprus, they made a progress together through the Lesser Asia; and though two remarkable speeches be preserved, and a few incidents in the course of their travels circumstantially related, yet is the account of this progress, upon the whole, given professedly with conciseness: for instance, at Iconium it is said that they abode a long time*; yet of this long abode, except concerning the manner in which they were driven away, no memoir is inserted

* Chap. xiv. 3.

in the history. The whole is wrapped up in one short summary, "they spake boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands." Having completed their progress, the two apostles returned to Antioch, "and there they abode long time with the disciples." Here we have another large portion of time passed over in silence. To this succeeded a journey to Jerusalem, upon a dispute which then much agitated the Christian church, concerning the obligation of the law of Moses. When the object of that journey was completed, Paul proposed to Barnabas to go again and visit their brethren in every city where they had preached the word of the Lord. The execution of this plan carried our apostle through Syria, Cilicia, and many provinces of the Lesser Asia; yet is the account of the whole journey despatched, in four verses of the sixteenth chapter.

If the Acts of the Apostles had undertaken to exhibit regular annals of St. Paul's ministry, or even any continued account of his life, from his conversion at Damascus to his imprisonment at Rome, I should have thought the omission of the circumstances referred to in our epistle, a matter of reasonable objection. But when it appears, from the history itself, that large portions of St. Paul's life were either passed over in silence, or only slightly touched upon, and that nothing more than certain detached incidents and discourses are related; when we observe also, that the author of the history did not join our apostle's society till a few years before the writing of the epistle, at least that there is no proof in the history that he did so; in comparing the history with the epistle, we shall not be surprised by the discovery of omissions; we shall ascribe it to truth that there is no contradiction.

No. X.

Chap. iii. 1. "Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you?"

"As some others." Turn to Acts xviii. 27, and you will find that, a short time before the writing of this epistle, Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians; "and when Apollos was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him." Here the words of the epistle bear the appearance of alluding to some specifick instance, and the history supplies that instance; it supplies at least an instance as apposite as possible to the terms which the apostle uses, and to the date and direction of the epistle, in which they are found. The letter which Apollos carried from Ephesus, was precisely the letter of commendation which St. Paul meant; and it was to Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, and indeed to Corinth itself (Acts chap. xix. 1.), that Apollos carried it; and it was about two years before the writing of this epistle. If St. Paul's words be rather thought to refer to some general usage which then obtained among Christian churches, the case of Apollos exemplifies that usage; and affords that species of confirmation to the epistle, which arises from seeing the manners of the age, in which it purports to be written, faithfully preserved.

No. XI.

Chap. xiii. 1. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" τριτον τουτο ερχομαι.

Do not these words import that the writer had been at Corinth twice before? Yet, if they import this, they over-

set every congruity we have been endeavouring to establish. The Acts of the Apostles record only two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth. We have all along supposed, what every mark of time except this expression indicates, that the epistle was written between the first and second of these journeys. If St. Paul had been already twice at Corinth, this supposition must be given up; and every argument or observation which depends upon it, falls to the ground. Again, the Acts of the Apostles not only record no more than two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth, but do not allow us to suppose that more than two such journeys could be made or intended by him within the period which the history comprises; for, from his first journey into Greece to his first imprisonment at Rome, with which the history concludes, the apostle's time is accounted for. If therefore the epistle was written after the second journey to Corinth, and upon the view and expectation of a third, it must have been written after his first imprisonment at Rome, i. e. after the time to which the history extends. When I first read over this epistle with the particular view of comparing it with the history, which I chose to do without consulting any commentary whatever, I own that I felt myself confounded by this text. It appeared to contradict the opinion, which I had been led by a great variety of circumstances to form, concerning the date and occasion of the epistle. At length however it occurred to my thoughts to inquire, whether the passage did necessarily imply that St. Paul had been at Corinth twice; or whether, when he says "this is the third time I am coming to you," he might mean only that this was the third time that he was ready, that he was prepared, that he intended to set out upon his journey to Corinth. I recollected that he had once before this purposed to visit Corinth, and had

been disappointed in his purpose; which disappointment forms the subject of much apology and protestation, in the first and second chapters of the epistle. Now, if the journey in which he had been disappointed was reckoned by him one of the times in which "he was coming to them," then the present would be the third time, i. e. of his being ready and prepared to come; although he had been actually at Corinth only *once* before. This conjecture being taken up, a further examination of the passage and the epistle produced proofs which placed it beyond doubt. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" in the verse following these words he adds, "I told you before, and foretel you, as if I were present *the second time;* and being absent, now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that if I come again, I will not spare." In this verse, the apostle is declaring beforehand what he would do in his intended visit: his expression therefore, "as if I were present the second time," relates to that visit. But, if his future visit would only make him present among them a second time, it follows that he had been already there but once. Again, in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, he tells them, "In this confidence, I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a *second* benefit." Why a second, and not a third benefit? why δευτεραν, and not τριτην χαριν, if the τριτον ερχομαι, in the fifteenth chapter, meant a *third* visit? for, though the visit in the first chapter be that visit in which he was disappointed, yet, as it is evident from the epistle that he had never been at Corinth, from the time of the disappointment to the time of writing the epistle, it follows, that if it was only a second visit in which he was disappointed then, it could only be a second visit which he proposed now. But the text which I think is decisive of the question, if any

question remain upon the subject, is the fourteenth verse of the twelfth chapter: "Behold the third time I am ready to come to you:" ἰδὺ τριτον ετοιμως εχω ελθειν. It is very clear that the τριτον ετοιμως εχω ελθειν of the twelfth chapter and the τριτον τυτο ερχομαι of the thirteenth chapter, are equivalent expressions, were intended to convey the same meaning, and to relate to the same journey. The comparison of these phrases gives us St. Paul's own explanation of his own words; and it is that very explanation which we are contending for, viz. that τριτον τυτο ερχομαι does not mean that he was coming a third time, but that this was the third time he was in readiness to come, τριτον ετοιμως εχων. I do not apprehend, that after this it can be necessary to call to our aid the reading of the Alexandrian manuscript, which gives ετοιμως εχω ελθειν in the thirteenth chapter as well as in the twelfth; or of the Syriac and Coptick versions, which follow that reading; because I allow that this reading, besides not being sufficiently supported by ancient copies, is probably paraphrastical, and has been inserted for the purpose of expressing more unequivocally the sense, which the shorter expression τριτον τυτο ερχομαι was supposed to carry. Upon the whole, the matter is sufficiently certain; nor do I propose it as a new interpretation of the text which contains the difficulty, for the same was given by Grotius long ago; but I thought it the clearest way of explaining the subject, to describe the manner in which the difficulty, the solution, and the proofs of that solution, successively presented themselves to my inquiries. Now, in historical researches, a reconciled inconsistency becomes a positive argument. First, because an impostor generally guards against the appearance of inconsistency; and secondly, because, when apparent inconsistencies are found, it is seldom that any thing but truth renders them capable of reconciliation. The existence of the difficulty proves

the want or absence of that caution, which usually accompanies the consciousness of fraud; and the solution proves, that it is not the collusion of fortuitous propositions which we have to deal with, but that a thread of truth winds through the whole, which preserves every circumstance in its place.

No. XII.

Chap. x. 14—16. "We are come as far as to you also, in preaching the Gospel of Christ; not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you, according to our rule, abundantly to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you."

This quotation affords an indirect, and therefore unsuspicious, but at the same time a distinct and indubitable recognition of the truth and exactness of the history. I consider it to be implied by the words of the quotation, that Corinth was the extremity of St. Paul's travels *hitherto*. He expresses to the Corinthians his hope, that in some future visit he might "preach the Gospel to the regions beyond them;" which imports that he had not hitherto proceeded "beyond them," but that Corinth was as yet the farthest point or boundary of his travels. Now, how is St. Paul's first journey into Europe, which was the only one he had taken before the writing of the epistle, traced out in the history? Sailing from Asia, he landed at Philippi; from Philippi, traversing the eastern coast of the peninsula, he passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica; from thence through Berea to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth, *where he stopped*; and from whence, after a residence of a year and a half, he sailed back into Syria. So that Corinth was the last place which he visited in the peninsula; was the place from which he returned into Asia; and was, as such, the boundary and

limit of his progress. He could not have said the same thing, viz. "I hope hereafter to visit the regions beyond you," in an epistle to the Philippians, or in an epistle to the Thessalonians, inasmuch as he must be deemed to have already visited the regions beyond *them*, having proceeded from those cities to other parts of Greece. But from Corinth he returned home; every part therefore, beyond that city, might properly be said, as it is said in the passage before us, to be unvisited. Yet is this propriety the spontaneous effect of truth, and produced without meditation or design.

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

No. I.

The argument of this epistle in some measure proves its antiquity. It will hardly be doubted, but that it was written whilst the dispute concerning the circumcision of Gentile converts was fresh in men's minds: for, even supposing it to have been a forgery, the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, was to bring the name and authority of the apostle into this controversy. No design could be so insipid, or so unlikely to enter into the thoughts of any man, as to produce an epistle written earnestly and pointedly upon one side of a controversy, when the controversy itself was dead, and the question no longer interesting to any description of readers whatever. Now the controversy concerning the circumcision of the Gentile Christians was of such a nature, that, if it arose at all, it must have arisen in the beginning of Christianity. As Judæa was the scene of the Christian history; as the author

and preachers of Christianity were Jews; as the religion itself acknowledged and was founded upon the Jewish religion, in contradistinction to every other religion then professed amongst mankind; it was not to be wondered at, that some of its teachers should carry it out in the world rather as a sect and modification of Judaism, than as a separate original revelation; or that they should invite their proselytes to those observances, in which they lived themselves. This was likely to happen: but if it did not happen *at first;* if, whilst the religion was in the hands of Jewish teachers, no such claim was advanced, no such condition was attempted to be imposed, it is not probable that the doctrine would be started, much less that it should prevail in any future period. I likewise think, that those pretensions of Judaism were much more likely to be insisted upon, whilst the Jews continued a nation, than after their fall and dispersion; whilst Jerusalem and the temple stood, than after the destruction brought upon them by the Roman arms, the fatal cessation of the sacrifice and the priesthood, the humiliating loss of their country, and, with it, of the great rites and symbols of their institution. It should seem therefore, from the nature of the subject, and the situation of the parties, that this controversy was carried on in the interval between the preaching of Christianity to the Gentiles and the invasion of Titus; and that our present epistle, which was undoubtedly intended to bear a part in this controversy, must be referred to the same period.

But, again, the epistle supposes that certain designing adherents of the Jewish law had crept into the churches of Galatia; and had been endeavouring, and but too successfully, to persuade the Galatick converts, that they had been taught the new religion imperfectly and at second hand; that the founder of their church himself possessed only an

inferiour and deputed commission, the seat of truth and authority being in the apostles and elders of Jerusalem; moreover, that, whatever he might profess amongst them, he had himself at other times, and in other places, given way to the doctrine of circumcision.—The epistle is unintelligible without supposing all this. Referring therefore to this, as to what had actually passed, we find St. Paul treating so unjust an attempt to undermine his credit, and to introduce amongst his converts a doctrine which he had uniformly reprobated, in terms of great asperity and indignation. And in order to refute the suspicions which had been raised concerning the fidelity of his teaching, as well as to assert the independency and divine original of his mission, we find him appealing to the history of his conversion, to his conduct under it, to the manner in which he had conferred with the apostles when he met with them at Jerusalem; alleging, that so far was his doctrine from being derived from them, or they from exercising any superiority over him, that they had simply assented to what he had already preached amongst the Gentiles, and which preaching was communicated not by them to him, but by himself to them; that he had maintained the liberty of the Gentile church, by opposing, upon one occasion, an apostle to the face, when the timidity of his behaviour seemed to endanger it; that from the first, that all along, that to that hour, he had constantly resisted the claims of Judaism; and that the persecutions which he daily underwent, at the hands or by the instigation of the Jews, and of which he bore in his person the marks and scars, might have been avoided by him, if he had consented to employ his labours in bringing, through the medium of Christianity, converts over to the Jewish institution, for then "would the offence of the cross have ceased." Now an impostor who had forged the epistle for the purpose of producing St. Paul's

authority in the dispute, which, as hath been observed, is the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, might have made the apostle deliver his opinion upon the subject, in strong and decisive terms, or might have put his name to a train of reasoning and argumentation upon that side of the question, which the imposture was intended to recommend. I can allow the possibility of such a scheme as that. But for a writer, with this purpose in view, to feign a series of transactions supposed to have passed amongst the Christians of Galatia, and then to counterfeit expressions of anger and resentment excited by these transactions; to make the apostle travel back into his own history, and into a recital of various passages of his life, some indeed directly, but others obliquely, and others even obscurely bearing upon the point in question; in a word, to substitute narrative for argument, expostulation and complaint for dogmatick positions and controversial reasoning, in a writing properly controversial, and of which the aim and design was to support one side of a much agitated question—is a method so intricate, and so unlike the methods pursued by all other impostors, as to require very flagrant proofs of imposition to induce us to believe it to be one.

No. II.

In this number I shall endeavour to prove,

1. That the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

2. That the epistle, though written without any communication with the history, by recital, implication, or reference, bears testimony to many of the facts contained in it.

1. The epistle and the Acts of the Apostles were written without any communication with each other.

To judge of this point, we must examine those passages in each, which describe the same transaction; for if the author of either writing derived his information from the account which he had seen in the other, when he came to speak of the same transaction, he would follow that account. The history of St. Paul, at Damascus, as read in the Acts, and as referred to by the epistle, forms an instance of this sort. According to the Acts, Paul (after his conversion) was certain days with the "disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he which destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests? But Saul increased the more in strength, confounding the Jews which were at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. But their laying wait was known of Saul: and they watched the gates day and night, to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night and let him down by the wall in a basket. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples." Acts, chap. ix. 19—26.

According to the epistle, "when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his own son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus: then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem."

Beside the difference observable in the terms and general complexion of these two accounts, "the journey into Arabia," mentioned in the epistle, and omitted in the history,

affords full proof that there existed no correspondence between these writers. If the narrative in the Acts had been made up from the epistle, it is impossible that this journey should have been passed over in silence; if the Epistle had been composed out of what the author had read of St. Paul's history in the Acts, it is unaccountable that it should have been inserted*.

The journey to Jerusalem related in the second chapter of the Epistle ("then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem,") supplies another example of the same kind. Either this was the journey described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, when Paul and Barnabas were sent from Antioch to Jerusalem, to consult the apostles and elders upon the question of the Gentile converts; or it was some journey of which the history does not take notice. If the first opinion be followed, the discrepancy in the two accounts is so considerable, that it is not without difficulty they can be adapted to the same transaction: so that, upon this supposition, there is no place for suspecting that the writers were guided or assisted by each other. If the latter opinion be preferred, we have then a journey to Jerusalem, and a conference with the principal members of the church there, circumstantially related in the epistle, and entirely omitted in the Acts: and we are at liberty to repeat the observation, which we before made, that the omission of so material a fact in the history is inexplicable, if the historian had read the epistle; and that the insertion

* N. B. The Acts of the Apostles simply inform us that St. Paul left Damascus in order to go to Jerusalem, "after many days were fulfilled." If any one doubt whether the words "many days" could be intended to express a period which included a term of three years, he will find a complete instance of the same phrase used with the same latitude in the first book of Kings, ch. xi 38, 39. "And Shimei dwelt at Jerusalem *many days*;" and it came to pass, at the end of *three years*, "that two of the servants of Shimei ran away."

of it in the epistle, if the writer derived his information from the history, is not less so.

St. Peter's visit to Antioch, during which the dispute arose between him and St. Paul, is not mentioned in the Acts.

If we connect, with these instances, the general observation, that no scrutiny can discover the smallest trace of transcription or imitation either in things or words, we shall be fully satisfied in this part of our case; namely, that the two records, be the facts contained in them true or false, come to our hands from independent sources.

Secondly, I say that the epistle, thus proved to have been written without any communication with the history, bears testimony to a great variety of particulars contained in the history.

1. St. Paul in the early part of his life had addicted himself to the study of the Jewish religion, and was distinguished by his zeal for the institution, and for the traditions which had been incorporated with it. Upon this part of his character the history makes St. Paul speak thus: "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, yet brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers; and was zealous towards God, as ye all are this day." Acts, chap. xxii. 3.

The epistle is as follows: "I profited in the Jews religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers." Chap. i. 14.

2. St. Paul, before his conversion, had been a fierce persecutor of the new sect. "As for Saul, he made havock of the church; entering into every house, and, haling men and women, committed them to prison." Acts, chap. viii. 3.

This is the history of St. Paul, as delivered in the Acts; in the recital of his own history in the epistle, "Ye have heard," says he, "of my conversation in times past in the Jews religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God." Chap. i. 13.

3. St. Paul was miraculously converted on his way to Damascus. "And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus; and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Acts. chap ix. 3—6. With these compare the epistle, chap. i. 15—17. "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them that were apostles before me: but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus."

In this quotation from the epistle, I desire it to be remarked how incidently it appears, that the affair passed at *Damascus*. In what may be called the direct part of the account, no mention is made of the place of his conversion at all: a casual expression at the end, and an expression brought in for a different purpose, alone fixes it to have been at Damascus: "I returned again to Damascus." Nothing can be more like simplicity and undesignedness than this is. It also draws the agreement between the two quotations somewhat closer, to observe that they both state St. Paul to have preached the gospel immediately upon his

call: "And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the son of God." Acts, chap. ix. 20. "When it pleased God to reveal his son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood." Gal. chap. i. 15,

4. The course of the apostle's travels after his conversion was this: He went from Damascus to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem into Syria and Cilicia. "At Damascus the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket; and when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples." Acts, chap. ix. 25. Afterwards, "when the brethren knew the conspiracy formed against him at Jerusalem, they brought him down to Cæsaria, and sent him forth to Tarsus, a city in Cilicia." Chap. ix. 30. In the epistle, St. Paul gives the following brief account of his proceedings within the same period: "After three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days; afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia." The history had told us that Paul passed from Cæsarea to Tarsus: if he took this journey by land, it would carry him through Syria into Cilicia; and he would come, after his visit at Jerusalem, "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia," in the very order in which he mentions them in the epistle. This supposition of his going from Cæsarea to Tarsus *by land*, clears up also another point. It accounts for what St. Paul says in the same place concerning the churches of Judea: "Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and was unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which were in Christ: but they had heard only that he which persecuted us in times past, now preacheth the faith, which once he destroyed; and they glorified God in me." Upon which passage I observe, first, that what is here said

of the churches of Judea, is spoken in connexion with his journey into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Secondly, that the passage itself has little significancy, and that the *connexion* is inexplicable, unless St. Paul went through Judea* (though probably by a hasty journey) at the time that he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Suppose him to have passed by land from Cæsarea to Tarsus, all this, as hath been observed, would be precisely true.

5. Barnabas was with St. Paul at Antioch. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul; and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church." Acts, chap. xi. 25, 26. Again, and upon another occasion, "they (Paul and Barnabas) sailed to Antioch; and there they continued a long time with the disciples." Chap. xiv. 26.

Now what says the epistle? "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed; and the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation." Chap. ii. 11. 13.

6. The stated residence of the apostles was at Jerusalem. "At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." Acts, chap. viii. 1. "They (the Christians at Antioch) determined that Paul and Barnabas

* Dr. Doddridge thought that the Cæsarea here mentioned was not the celebrated city of that name upon the Mediterranean Sea, but Cæsarea Phillippi, near the borders of Syria, which lies in a much more direct line from Jerusalem to Tarsus than the other. The objection to this, Dr. Benson remarks, is, that Cæsarea, without any addition, usually denotes Cæsarea Palestinæ.

should go up to Jerusalem, unto the apostles and elders, about this question." Acts, chap. xv. 2.—With these accounts agrees the declaration in the epistle; "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me," chap. i. 17.: for this declaration implies, or rather assumes it to be known, that Jerusalem was the place where the apostles were to be met with.

7. There were at Jerusalem two apostles, or at the least two eminent members of the church, of the name of James. This is directly inferred from the Acts of the Apostles, which in the second verse of the twelfth chapter relates the death of James, the brother of John; and yet in the fifteenth chapter, and in a subsequent part of the history, records a speech delivered by James in the assembly of the apostles and elders. It is also strongly implied by the form of expression used in the epistle: "Other apostles saw I none, save James, the *Lord's brother;*" i. e. to distinguish him from James the brother of John.

To us who have been long conversant in the Christian history, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, these points are obvious and familiar; nor do we readily apprehend any greater difficulty in making them appear in a letter purporting to have been written by St. Paul, than there is in introducing them into a modern sermon. But, to judge correctly of the argument before us, we must discharge this knowledge from our thoughts. We must propose to ourselves the situation of an author who sat down to the writing of the epistle without having seen the history; and then the concurrences we have deduced will be deemed of importance. They will at least be taken for separate confirmations of the several facts, and not only of these particular facts, but of the general truth of the history.

For, what is the rule with respect to corroborative testimony which prevails in courts of justice, and which prevails only because experience has proved that it is an useful guide to truth? A principal witness in a cause delivers his account: his narrative, in certain parts of it, is confirmed by witnesses who are called afterwards. The credit derived from their testimony belongs not only to the particular circumstances in which the auxiliary witnesses agree with the principal witness, but in some measure to the whole of his evidence; because it is improbable that accident or fiction should draw a line which touched upon truth in so many points.

In like manner, if two records be produced, manifestly independent, that is, manifestly written without any participation of intelligence, an agreement between them, even in few and slight circumstances (especially if, from the different nature and design of the writings, few points only of agreement, and those incidental, could be expected to occur), would add a sensible weight to the authority of both, in every part of their contents.

The same rule is applicable to history, with at least as much reason as any other species of evidence.

No. III.

But although the references to various particulars in the epistle, compared with the direct account of the same particulars in the history, afford a considerable proof of the truth not only of these particulars but of the narrative which contains them; yet they do not show, it will be said, that the epistle was written by St. Paul: for admitting (what seems to have been proved) that the writer, whoever he was, had no recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, yet many of the facts referred to, such as St. Paul's mirac-

ulous conversion, his change from a virulent persecutor to an indefatigable preacher, his labours amongst the Gentiles, and his zeal for the liberties of the Gentile church, were so notorious as to occur readily to the mind of any Christian, who should choose to personate his character, and counterfeit his name: it was only to write what every body knew. Now I think that this supposition—viz. that the epistle was composed upon general information, and the general publicity of the facts alluded to, and that the author did no more than weave into his work what the common fame of the Christian church had reported to his ears—is repelled by the particularity of the recitals and references. This particularity is observable in the following instances; in perusing which, I desire the reader to reflect, whether they exhibit the language of a man who had nothing but general reputation to proceed upon, or of a man actually speaking of himself and of his own history, and consequently of things concerning which he possessed a clear, intimate, and circumstantial knowledge.

1. The history, in giving an account of St. Paul after his conversion, relates, "that, after many days," effecting, by the assistance of the disciples, his escape from Damascus, "he proceeded to Jerusalem." Acts, chap. ix. 25. The epistle, speaking of the same period, makes St. Paul say that "he went into Arabia," that he returned again to Damascus, that after three years he went up to Jerusalem. Chap. i. 17, 18.

2. The history relates, that, when Saul was come from Damascus, "he was with the disciples coming in and going out." Acts, chap. ix. 28. The epistle, describing the same journey, tells us "that he went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days." Chap. i. 18.

3. The history relates, that, when Paul was come to Jerusalem, "Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles." Acts, chap. ix. 27. The epistle, "that he saw Peter; but other of the apostles saw he none, save James, the Lord's brother." Chap. i. 19.

Now this is as it should be. The historian delivers his account in general terms, as of facts to which he was not present. The person who is the subject of that account, when he comes to speak of these facts himself, particularizes time, names, and circumstances.

4. The like notation of places, persons, and dates, is met with in the account of St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, given in the second chapter of the epistle. It was fourteen years after his conversion; it was in company with Barnabas and Titus; it was then that he met with James, Cephas, and John; it was then also that it was agreed amongst them, that they should go to the circumcision, and he unto the Gentiles.

5. The dispute with Peter, which occupies the sequel of the second chapter, is marked with the same particularity. It was at Antioch; it was after certain came from James; it was whilst Barnabas was there, who was carried away by their dissimulation. These examples negative the insinuation, that the epistle presents nothing but indefinite allusions to publick facts.

No. IV.

Chap. iv. 11—16. "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am, for I am as ye are. Ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first; and *my temptation, which was in the flesh*, ye despised not, nor rejected;

but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness you spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them unto me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

With this passage compare 2 Cor. chap. xii. 1—9: "It is not expedient for me, doubtless, to glory; I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell, or whether out of the body I cannot tell; God knoweth); such a one was caught up to the third heaven; and I knew such a man (whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell, God knoweth), how that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such a one will I glory, yet of myself will I not glory, but in mine infirmities: for, though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth. But now I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me. And lest I should be exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me *a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me*, lest I should be exalted above measure. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

There can be no doubt but that "the temptation which was in the flesh," mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, and "the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to

buffet him," mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, were intended to denote the same thing. Either therefore it was, what we pretend it to have been, the same person in both, alluding, as the occasion led him, to some bodily infirmity under which he laboured; that is, we are reading the real letters of a real apostle; or, it was that a sophist, who had seen the circumstance in one epistle, contrived, for the sake of correspondency, to bring it into another; or, lastly, it was a circumstance in St. Paul's personal condition, supposed to be well known to those into whose hands the epistle was likely to fall; and, for that reason, introduced into a writing designed to bear his name. I have extracted the quotations at length, in order to enable the reader to judge accurately of the manner in which the mention of this particular comes in, in each; because that judgment, I think, will acquit the authors of the epistle of the charge of having studiously inserted it, either with a view of producing an apparent agreement between them, or for any other purpose whatever.

The context, by which the circumstance before us is introduced, is in the two places totally different, and without any mark of imitation: yet in both places does the circumstance rise aptly and naturally out of the context, and that context from the train of thought carried on in the epistle.

The Epistle to the Galatians, from the beginning to the end, runs in a strain of angry complaint of their defection from the apostle, and from the principles which he had taught them. It was very natural to contrast with this conduct, the zeal with which they had once received him: and it was not less so to mention, as a proof of their former disposition towards him, the indulgence which, whilst he was amongst them, they had shown to his infirmity: "My

temptation which was in the flesh ye despised not, nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness you spake of, i. e. the benedictions which you bestowed upon me? for I bear you record, that if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me."

In the two epistles to the Corinthians, especially in the second, we have the apostle contending with certain teachers in Corinth, who had formed a party in that chuch against him. To vindicate his personal authority, as well as the dignity and credit of his ministry amongst them, he takes occasion (but not without apologizing repeatedly for the folly, that is, for the indecorum of pronouncing his own panegyrick*) to meet his adversaries in their boastings: "Whereinsoever any is bold (I speak foolishly) I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they the ministers of Christ (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." Being led to the subject, he goes on, as was natural, to recount his trials and dangers, his incessant cares and labours in the Christian mission. From the proofs which he had given of his zeal and activity in the service of Christ, he passes (and that with the same view of establishing his claim to be considered as "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles") to the visions and revelations which from time to time had been vouchsafed to him. And then, by a close

* "Would to God you would bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear with me!" Chap. xi. 1.

"That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting." Chap. xi. 17.

"I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me." Chap. xii. 11.

and easy connexion, comes in the mention of his infirmity: Lest I should be exalted, says he, "above measure, through the abundance of revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me."

Thus then, in both epistles, the notice of his infirmity is suited to the place in which it is found. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, the train of thought draws up to the circumstance by a regular approximation. In the epistle, it is suggested by the subject and occasion of the epistle itself. Which observation we offer as an argument to prove that it is not, in either epistle, a circumstance industriously brought forward for the sake of procuring credit to an imposture.

A reader will be taught to perceive the force of this argument, who shall attempt to introduce a *given* circumstance into the body of a writing. To do this without abruptness, or without betraying marks of design in the transition, requires, he will find, more art than he expected to be necessary, certainly more than any one can believe to have been exercised in the composition of these epistles.

No. V.

Chap. iv. 29. "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so is it now."

Chap. v. 11. "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased."

Chap. vi. 17. "From henceforth, let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

From these several texts, it is apparent that the persecutions which our apostle had undergone, were from the hands or by the instigation of the Jews; that it was not for

preaching Christianity in opposition to heathenism, but it was for preaching it as distinct from Judaism, that he had brought upon himself the sufferings which had attended his ministry. And this representation perfectly coincides with that which results from the detail of St. Paul's history, as delivered in the Acts. At Antioch, in Pisidia, the "word of the Lord was published throughout all the region; but the *Jews stirred up* the devout and honourable women and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." (Acts, chap. xiii. 50). Not long after, at Iconium, "a great multitude of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed; but the *unbelieving Jews* stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren." (Chap. xiv. 1, 2.) "At Lystra there came certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." (Chap. xiv. 19.) The same enmity, and from the same quarter, our apostle experienced in Greece: "At Thessalonica, some of them (the Jews) believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas: and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few: but *the Jews which believed not*, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people." (Acts, chap. xvii. 4, 5.) Their persecutors follow them to Berea: "when the *Jews* of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of St. Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people." (Chap. xvii. 13.) And lastly at Corinth, when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, "*the Jews* made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat." I think it does not appear that our apostle

was ever set upon by the Gentiles, unless they were first stirred up by the Jews, except in two instances; in both which the persons who began the assault were immediately interested in his expulsion from the place. Once this happened at Philippi, after the cure of the Pythoness: "When the masters saw the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto the rulers." (Chap. xvi. 19.) And a second time at Ephesus, at the instance of Demetrius a silversmith which made silver shrines for Diana, "who called together workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth; moreover, ye see and hear that not only at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded away much people, saying, that they be no gods which are made with hands; so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth."

No. VI.

I observe an agreement in a somewhat peculiar rule of Christian conduct, as laid down in this epistle, and as exemplified in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It is not the repetition of the same general precept, which would have been a coincidence of little value; but it is the general precept in one place, and the application of that precept to an actual occurrence in the other. In the sixth chapter and first verse of this epistle, our apostle gives the following direction: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye, which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness." In 2 Cor. chap. ii. 6—8, he writes thus: "Sufficient to such a man" (the incestuous person mentioned in the First Epistle) "is this punishment, which

was inflicted of many: so that, contrariwise, ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow; wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love towards him." I have little doubt but that it was the same mind which dictated these two passages.

No. VII.

Our epistle goes farther than any of St. Paul's epistles; for it avows in direct terms the supersession of the Jewish law, as an instrument of salvation, even to the Jews themselves. Not only were the Gentiles exempt from its authority, but even the Jews were no longer either to place any dependency upon it, or consider themselves as subject to it on a religious account. "Before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed; wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith; but, after that faith is come, *we are no longer under a schoolmaster*." (Chap. iii. 23—25.)

This was undoubtedly spoken of Jews and to Jews. In like manner, chap. iv. 1—5: "Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governours until the time appointed of the father: even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world; but, when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to *redeem them that were under the law*, that we might receive the adoption of sons." These passages are nothing short of a declaration, that the obligation of the Jewish law, considered as a religious dispensation, the effects of which were to take place in another life, had ceased, with respect even to the Jews themselves. What

then should be the conduct of a Jew (for such St. Paul was) who preached this doctrine? To be consistent with himself, either he would no longer comply, in his own person, with the directions of the law; or, if he did comply, it would be for some other reason than any confidence which he placed in its efficacy, as a religious institution. Now so it happens, that whenever St. Paul's compliance with the Jewish law is mentioned in the history, it is mentioned in connexion with circumstances which point out the motive from which it proceeded; and this motive appears to have been always exoterick, namely, a love of order and tranquillity, or an unwillingness to give unnecessary offence. Thus, Acts, chap. xvi. 3: "Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews which were in those quarters.*" Again, Acts, chap. xxi. 26, when Paul consented to exhibit an example of publick compliance with a Jewish rite, by purifying himself in the temple, it is plainly intimated that he did this to satisfy many thousands of Jews who believed, and who were "all zealous of the law." So far the instances related in one book, correspond with the doctrine delivered in another.

No. VIII.

Chap. i. 18. "Then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

The shortness of St. Paul's stay at Jerusalem, is what I desire the reader to remark. The direct account of the same journey in the Acts, chap. ix. 28, determines nothing concerning the time of his continuance there: "And he was with them (the apostles) coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem; and he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him; which when the brethren knew, they

brought him down to Cæsarea." Or rather this account, taken by itself, would lead a reader to suppose that St. Paul's abode at Jerusalem had been longer than fifteen days. But turn to the twenty-second chapter of the Acts, and you will find a reference to this visit to Jerusalem, which plainly indicates that Paul's continuance in that city had been of short duration: "And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Here we have the general terms of one text so explained by a distant text in the same book, as to bring an indeterminate expression into a close conformity with a specification delivered in another book: a species of consistency not, I think, usually found in fabulous relations.

No. IX.

Chap. vi. 11. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand."

These words imply that he did not always write with his own hand; which is consonant to what we find intimated in some other of the epistles. The Epistle to the Romans was written by Tertius: "I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord." (Chap. xvi. 22.) The First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Second to the Thessalonians, have all, near the conclusion, this clause. "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand;" which must be understood, and is universally understood to import, that the rest of the epistle was written by another hand. I do not think it improbable that an impostor, who had remarked this subscription in some other epistle, should invent the same in a forgery; but that is not done here. The author of this

epistle does not imitate the manner of giving St. Paul's signature; he only bids the Galatians observe how large a letter he had written to them with his own hand. He does not say this was different from his ordinary usage; that is left to implication. Now to suppose that this was an artifice to procure credit to an imposture, is to suppose that the author of the forgery, because he knew that others of St. Paul's were *not* written by himself, therefore made the apostle say that this was: which seems an odd turn to give to the circumstance, and to be given for a purpose which would more naturally and more directly have been answered, by subjoining the salutation or signature in the form in which it is found in other epistles*.

No. X.

An exact conformity appears in the manner in which a certain apostle or eminent Christian, whose name was James, is spoken of in the epistle and in the history. Both writings refer to a situation of his at Jerusalem, somewhat different from that of the other apostles; a kind of eminence or presidency in the church there, or at least a more fixed and stationary residence. Chap. ii. 12, "When Peter was at Antioch, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles." This text plainly attributes a kind of pre-eminency to James; and, as we hear of him twice in the same epistle dwelling at Jerusalem, chap. i. 19, and ii. 9, we must apply it to the situation which he

* The words πηλικοις γραμμασιν may probably be meant to describe the character in which he wrote, and not the length of the letter. But this will not alter the truth of our observation. I think however, that as St. Paul by the mention of his own hand designed to express to the Galatians the great concern which he felt for them, the words, whatever they signify, belong to the whole of the epistle; and not, as Grotius, after St. Jerom, interprets it, to the few verses which follow.

held in that church. In the Acts of the Apostles divers intimations occur, conveying the same idea of James's situation. When Peter was miraculously delivered from prison, and had surprised his friends by his appearance among them, after declaring unto them how the Lord had brought him out of prison, "Go shew," says he, "these things unto James, and to the brethren." (Acts, chap. xii. 17.) Here James is manifestly spoken of in terms of distinction. He appears again with like distinction in the twenty-first chapter and the seventeenth and eighteenth verses: "And when we (Paul and his company) were come to Jerusalem, the day following, Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present." In the debate which took place upon the business of the Gentile converts, in the council at Jerusalem, this same person seems to have taken the lead. It was he who closed the debate, and proposed the resolution in which the council ultimately concurred: "Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God."

Upon the whole, that there exists a conformity in the expressions used concerning *James*, throughout the history, and in the epistle, is unquestionable. But admitting this conformity, and admitting also the undesignedness of it, what does it prove? It proves that the circumstance itself is founded in truth; that is, that James was a real person, who held a situation of eminence in a real society of Christians at Jerusalem. It confirms also those parts of the narrative which are connected with this circumstance. Suppose, for instance, the truth of the account of Peter's escape from prison was to be tried upon the testimony of a witness who, among other things, made Peter, after his deliverance, say, "Go show these things to James and to the brethren;" would it not be material, in such a trial, to make out by

other independent proofs, or by a comparison of proofs, drawn from independent sources, that there was actually at that time, living at Jerusalem, such a person as James; that this person held such a situation in the society amongst whom these things were transacted, as to render the words which Peter is said to have used concerning him, proper and natural for him to have used? If this would be pertinent in the discussion of oral testimony, it is still more so in appreciating the credit of remote history.

It must not be dissembled that the comparison of our epistle with the history presents some difficulties, or, to say the least, some questions, of considerable magnitude. It may be doubted, in the first place, to what journey the words which open the second chapter of the epistle, "then, fourteen years afterwards, I went unto Jerusalem," relate. That which best corresponds with the date, and that to which most interpreters apply the passage, is the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, when they went thither from Antioch, upon the business of the Gentile converts; and which journey produced the famous council and decree recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. To me this opinion appears to be encumbered with strong objections. In the epistle Paul tells us that "he went up by revelation." (Chap. ii. 2.) In the Acts, we read that he was sent by the church of Antioch: "After no small dissension and disputation, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to the apostles and elders about this question." (Acts, chap xv. 2.) This is not very reconcilable. In the epistle St. Paul writes that, when he came to Jerusalem, "he communicated that Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation." (Chap. ii. 2.) If by "that Gospel" he meant the immunity of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish law (and I know

not what else it can mean), it is not easy to conceive how he should communicate that privately, which was the subject of his publick message. But a yet greater difficulty remains, viz. that in the account which the epistle gives of what passed upon this visit at Jerusalem, no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree which are recorded in the Acts, and which, according to that history, formed the business for the sake of which the journey was undertaken. The mention of the council and of its determination, whilst the apostle was relating his proceedings at Jerusalem, could hardly have been avoided, if in truth the narrative belong to the same journey. To me it appears more probable that Paul and Barnabas had taken some journey to Jerusalem, the mention of which is omitted in the Acts. Prior to the apostolick decree, we read that "Paul and Barnabas abode at Antioch a long time with the disciples." (Acts, chap. xiv. 28.) Is it unlikely that, during this long abode, they might go up to Jerusalem and return to Antioch? Or would the omission of such a journey be unsuitable to the general brevity with which these memoirs are written, especially of those parts of St. Paul's history which took place before the historian joined his society?

But, again, the first account we find in the Acts of the Apostles of St. Paul's visiting Galatia, is in the sixteenth chapter, and the sixth verse; "Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The progress here recorded was subsequent to the apostolick decree; therefore that decree must have been extant when our epistle was written. Now, as the professed design of the epistle was to establish the exemption of the Gentile converts from the law of Moses, and as the decree pronounced and confirmed that exemption, it may seem extraordinary that no notice

whatever is taken of that determination, nor any appeal made to its authority. Much however of the weight of this objection, which applies also to some other of St. Paul's epistles, is removed by the following reflections.

1. It was not St. Paul's manner, nor agreeable to it, to resort or defer much to the authority of the other apostles, especially whilst he was insisting, as he does strenuously throughout this epistle insist, upon his own original inspiration. He who could speak of the very chiefest of the apostles in such terms as the following—"of those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no man's person), for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me"—he, I say, was not likely to support himself by their decision.

2. The epistle argues the point upon principle; and it is not perhaps more to be wondered at, that in such an argument St. Paul should not cite the apostolick decree, than it would be that, in a discourse designed to prove the moral and religious duty of observing the sabbath, the writer should not quote the thirteenth canon.

3. The decree did not go the length of the position maintained in the epistle; the decree only declares that the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not impose the observance of the Mosaick law upon the Gentile converts, as a condition of their being admitted into the Christian church. Our epistle argues that the Mosaick institution itself was at an end, as to all effects upon a future state, even with respect to the Jews themselves.

4. They whose errour St. Paul combated, were not persons who submitted to the Jewish law, because it was imposed by the authority, or because it was made part of the law of the Christian church; but they were persons who,

having already become Christians, afterwards voluntarily took upon themselves the observance of the Mosaick code, under a notion of attaining thereby to a greater perfection. This, I think, is precisely the opinion which St. Paul opposes in this epistle. Many of his expressions apply exactly to it: "Are ye so foolish? having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect in the flesh?" (Chap. iii. 3.) "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?" (Chap. iv. 21.) "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?" (Chap. iv. 9.) It cannot be thought extraordinary that St. Paul should resist this opinion with earnestness; for it both changed the character of the Christian dispensation, and derogated expressly from the completeness of that redemption which Jesus Christ had wrought for them that believed in him. But it was to no purpose to allege to such persons the decision at Jerusalem, for that only showed that they were not bound to these observances by any law of the Christian church: they did not pretend to be so bound. Nevertheless they imagined that there was an efficacy in these observances, a merit, a recommendation to favour, and a ground of acceptance with God for those who complied with them. This was a situation of thought to which the tenour of the decree did not apply. Accordingly, St. Paul's address to the Galatians, which is throughout adapted to this situation, runs in a strain widely different from the language of the decree: "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law;" (chap. v. 4.) i. e. whosoever places his dependance upon any merit he may apprehend there to be in legal observances. The decree had said nothing like this; therefore it would have been useless to have produced the decree in an argument of which this was the burthen. In

like manner as in contending with an anchorite, who should insist upon the superiour holiness of a recluse, ascetick life, and the value of such mortifications in the sight of God, it would be to no purpose to prove that the laws of the church did not require these vows, or even to prove that the laws of the church expressly left every Christian to his liberty. This would avail little towards abating his estimation of their merit, or towards settling the point in controversy*.

* Mr. Locke's solution of this difficulty is by no means satisfactory. "St. Paul," he says, "did not remind the Galatians of the apostolick decree, because they already had it." In the first place, it does not appear with certainty that they had it; in the second place, if they had it, this was rather a reason, than otherwise, for referring them to it. The passage in the Acts, from which Mr. Locke concludes that the Galatick churches were in possession of the decree, is the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter: "And as they" (Paul and Timothy) "went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem." In my opinion, this delivery of the decree was confined to the churches to which St. Paul came, in pursuance of the plan upon which he set out, "of visiting the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord;" the history of which progress, and of all that pertained to it, is closed in the fifth verse, when the history informs us that, "so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." Then the history proceeds upon a new section of the narrative, by telling us, that "when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The decree itself is directed to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles at Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia;" that is, to churches already founded, and in which this question had been stirred. And I think the observation of the noble author of the Miscellanea Sacra is not only ingenious, but highly probable, viz. that there is, in this place, a dislocation of the text, and that the fourth and fifth verses of the sixteenth chapter ought to follow the last verse of the fifteenth, so as to make the entire passage run thus: "And they went through Syria and Cilicia," (to the Christians of which countries the decree was addressed,) "confirming the churches; and as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to

Another difficulty arises from the account of Peter's conduct towards the Gentile converts at Antioch, as given in the epistle, in the latter part of the second chapter; which conduct, it is said, is consistent neither with the revelation communicated to him, upon the conversion of Cornelius, nor with the part he took in the debate at Jerusalem. But, in order to understand either the difficulty or the solution, it will be necessary to state and explain the passage itself. "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed; for, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision; and the other Jews dissembled likewise with him, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation; but when I saw they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter,

keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem; and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." And then the sixteenth chapter takes up a new and unbroken paragraph: "Then came he to Derbe and Lystra, &c." When St. Paul came, as he did into Galatia, to preach the gospel, for the first time, in a new place, it is not probable that he would make mention of the decree, or rather letter, of the church of Jerusalem, which presupposed Christianity to be known, and which related to certain doubts that had arisen in some established Christian communities.

The second reason which Mr. Locke assigns for the omission of the decree, viz. "That St. Paul's sole object in the epistle was to acquit himself of the imputation that had been charged upon him of actually preaching circumcision," does not appear to me to be strictly true. It was not the sole object. The epistle is written in general opposition to the Judaizing inclinations which he found to prevail amongst his converts. The avowal of his own doctrine, and of his steadfast adherence to that doctrine, formed a necessary part of the design of his letter, but was not the whole of it.

before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" Now the question that produced the dispute to which these words relate, was not whether the Gentiles were capable of being admitted into the Christian covenant; that had been fully settled; nor was it whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity that they should conform themselves to the law of Moses; that was the question at Jerusalem: but it was, whether, upon the Gentiles becoming Christians, the Jews might thenceforth eat and drink with them, as with their own brethren. Upon this point St. Peter betrayed some inconstancy; and so he might, agreeably enough to his history. He might consider the vision at Joppa as a direction for the occasion, rather than as universally abolishing the distinction between Jew and Gentile; I do not mean with respect to final acceptance with God, but as to the manner of their living together in society: at least he might not have comprehended this point with such clearness and certainty, as to stand out upon it against the fear of bringing upon himself the censure and complaint of his brethren in the church of Jerusalem, who still adhered to their ancient prejudices. But Peter, it is said, compelled the Gentiles Ιουδαΐζειν—"why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" How did he do that? The only way in which Peter appears to have compelled the Gentiles to comply with the Jewish institution, was by withdrawing himself from their society. By which he may be understood to have made this declaration: "We do not deny your right to be considered as Christians; we do not deny your title in the promises of the Gospel, even without compliance with our law: but if you would have us Jews live with you, as we do with one another, that is,

if you would in all respects be treated by us as Jews, you must live as such yourselves." This, I think, was the compulsion which St. Peter's conduct imposed upon the Gentiles, and for which St. Paul reproved him.

As to the part which the historian ascribes to St. Peter, in the debate at Jerusalem, beside that it was a different question which was there agitated from that which produced the dispute at Antioch, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the consultation at Jerusalem; or that Peter, in consequence of this rebuke, might have afterwards maintained firmer sentiments.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

No. I.

This epistle, and the Epistle to the Colossians, appear to have been transmitted to their respective churches by the same messenger: "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts." Ephes. chap. vi. 21, 22. This text, if it do not expressly declare, clearly I think intimates, that the letter was sent by Tychicus. The words made use of in the Epistle to the Colossians are very similar to these, and afford the same implication that Tychicus, in conjunction with Onesimus, was the bearer of the letter to that church;

"All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister, and fellow servant in the Lord, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts; with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you: they shall make known unto you all things which are done here." Colos. chap. iv. 7—9. Both Epistles represent the writer as under imprisonment for the gospel; and both treat of the same general subject. The Epistle therefore to the Ephesians, and the Epistle to the Colossians, import to be two letters written by the same person, at, or nearly at, the same time, and upon the same subject, and to have been sent by the same messenger. Now, every thing in the sentiments, order, and diction of the two writings corresponds with what might be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation in their original. The leading doctrine of both Epistles is the union of Jews and Gentiles under the Christian dispensation; and that doctrine in both is established by the same arguments, or, more properly speaking, illustrated by the same similitudes*. "One head," "one body," "one new man," "one temple," are in both Epistles the figures, under which the society of believers in Christ, and their

* St. Paul, I am apt to believe, has been sometimes accused of inconclusive reasoning, by our mistaking that for reasoning which was only intended for illustration. He is not to be read as a man, whose own persuasion of the truth of what he taught always or solely depended upon the views under which he represents it in his writings. Taking for granted the certainty of his doctrine, as resting upon the revelation that had been imparted to him, he exhibits it frequently to the conception of his readers under images and allegories, in which if an analogy may be perceived, or even sometimes a poetick resemblance be found, it is all perhaps that is required.

common relation to him as such, is represented*. The ancient, and, as had been thought, the indelible distinction between Jew and Gentile, in both Epistles, is declared to be "now abolished by his cross." Beside this consent in the general tenor of the two Epistles, and in the run also and warmth of thought with which they are composed, we may naturally expect, in letters produced under the circumstances, in which these appear to have been written, a closer resemblance of style and diction, than between other letters of the same person, but of distant dates, or between letters adapted to different occasions. In particular we may look for many of the same expressions, and sometimes for whole sentences being alike; since such expressions and sentences would be repeated in the second letter (whichever that was) as yet fresh in the author's mind from the writing of the first. This repetition occurs in the following examples†.:

Ephes. ch. i. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins ‡."

Colos. ch. i. 14. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins§."

* Compare	Ephes. i. 22,	with	Colos. i. 18.
	iv. 15,		ii. 19.
	ii. 15,		iii. 10, 11.
Also	Ephes. ii. 14, 15,	with	Colos. ii. 14.
	ii. 16,		i. 18—21.
	ii. 20,		ii. 7.

† When *verbal* comparisons are relied upon, it becomes necessary to state the original; but that the English reader may be interrupted as little as may be, I shall in general do this in the note.

‡ Ephes. ch. i. 7. Εν ῳ ἐχομεν την απολυτρωσιν δια τε αἱματος αυτε, την αφεσιν των παραπτωματων.

§ Colos. ch. i. 14. Εν ῳ ἐχομεν την απολυτρωσιν δια τε αἱματος αυτε, την αφεσιν των ἁμαρτιων. However, it must be observed, that in this latter text many copies have not δια τε αἱματος αυτε.

Beside the sameness of the words, it is further remarkable that the sentence is, in both places, preceded by the same introductory idea. In the Epistle to the Ephesians it is the "*beloved*" (ηγαπημενῳ); in that to the Colossians it is "*his dear Son*," (υἱου της αγαπης αυτου,) "in whom we have redemption." The sentence appears to have been suggested to the mind of the writer by the idea which had accompanied it before.

Ephes. ch. i. 10. "All things both which are in heaven and which are in earth, even in him*."

Colos. ch. i. 20. "All things by him, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven†."

This quotation is the more observable, because the connecting of things in earth with things in heaven is a very singular sentiment, and found no where else but in these two Epistles. The words also are introduced and followed by a train of thought nearly alike. They are introduced by describing the union, which Christ had effected, and they are followed by telling the Gentile churches that they were incorporated into it.

Ephes. ch. iii. 2. "The dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you ward‡."

Colos. ch. i. 25. "The dispensation of God, which is given to me for you§."

Of these sentences it may likewise be observed, that the accompanying ideas are similar. In both places they are immediately preceded by the mention of his present sufferings; in both places they are immediately followed by the

* Ephes. ch. i. 10. Τα τε εν τοις ουρανοις και τα επι της γης, εν αυτῳ.

† Colos. ch. i. 20. Δι αυτου, ειτε τα επι της γης, ειτε τα εν τοις ουρανοις.

‡ Ephes. ch. iii. 2. Την οικονομιαν της χαριτος του Θεου της δοθεισης μοι εις ὑμας.

§ Colos. ch. i. 25. Την οἰκονομιαν του Θεου, την δοθεισαν μοι εις ὑμας.

mention of the mystery which was the great subject of his preaching.

Ephes. ch. v. 19. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord*."

Colos. ch. iii. 16. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord†."

Ephes. ch. vi. 22. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts‡."

Colos. ch. iv. 8. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts§."

In these examples, we do not perceive a cento of phrases gathered from one composition, and strung together in the other; but the occasional occurrence of the same expression to a mind a second time revolving the same ideas.

2. Whoever writes two letters, or two discourses, nearly upon the same subject, and at no great distance of time, but without any express recollection of what he had written before, will find himself repeating some sentences in the very order of the words, in which he had already used them; but he will more frequently find himself employing some principal terms, with the other inadvertently changed, or with the other disturbed by the intermixture of other

* Ephes. ch. v. 19. Ψαλμοις και ὑμνοις και ᾠδαις πνευματικαις, ᾀδοντες και ψαλλοντες ἐν τῃ καρδιᾳ ὑμων τῳ Κυριῳ.

† Colos. ch. iii. 16. Ψαλμοις και ὑμνοις και ᾠδαις πνευματικαις, ἐν χαριτι ᾀδοντες ἐν τῃ καρδιᾳ ὑμων τῳ Κυριῳ.

‡ Ephes. ch. vi. 22. Ὃν ἐπεμψα προς ὑμας εἰς αυτο τουτο, ἱνα γνωτε τα περι ἡμων, και παρακαλεσῃ τας καρδιας ὑμων.

§ Colos. ch. iv. 8. Ὃν ἐπεμψα προς ὑμας εἰς αυτο τουτο, ἱνα γνῳ τα περι ὑμων, και παρακαλεσῃ τας καρδιας ὑμων.

words and phrases expressive of ideas rising up at the time; or in many instances repeating not single words, nor yet whole sentences, but parts and fragments of sentences. Of all these varieties the examination of our two Epistles will furnish plain examples: and I should rely upon this class of instances more than upon the last; because, although an impostor might transcribe into a forgery entire sentences and phrases, yet the dislocation of words, the partial recollection of phrases and sentences, the intermixture of new terms and new ideas with terms and ideas before used, which will appear in the examples that follow, and which are the natural properties of writings produced under the circumstances in which these Epistles are represented to have been composed—would not, I think, have occurred to the invention of a forger; nor, if they had occurred, would they have been so easily executed. This studied variation was a refinement in forgery which I believe did not exist; or, if we can suppose it to have been practised in the instances adduced below, why, it may be asked, was not the same art exercised upon those which we have collected in the preceding class?

Ephes. ch. i. 19. ch. ii. 5. "Towards us who believe according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead (and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. And hath put all things under his feet; and gave him to be the head over all things, to the church, which is his body, the fulness of all things, that filleth all in all): and you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins (wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the

prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom also we had all our conversation, in times past, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us), even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ*."

Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. "Through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead, and you being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of the flesh, hath he quickened together with him†."

Out of the long quotation from the Ephesians, take away the parentheses, and you have left a sentence almost in terms the same as the short quotation from the Colossians. The resemblance is more visible in the original than in our translation; for what is rendered in one place "the working," and in another the "operation," is the same Greek term ενεργεια; in one place it is, τους πιστευοντας κατα την ενεργειαν: in the other, δια της πιστεως της ενεργειας. Here therefore we have the same sentiment, and nearly in the same words; but, in the Ephesians, twice broken or interrupted by incidental thoughts, which St. Paul, as his manner was, enlarges upon by the way‡, and then returns to the thread of his discourse. It is interrupted the first time by a view which breaks in upon his mind of the exaltation of Christ; and

* Ephes. ch. i. 19, 20; ii. 1, 5. Τους πιστευοντας κατα την ενεργειαν του κρατους της ισχυος αυτου, ἣν ενηργησεν εν τῳ Χριστῳ, εγειρας αυτον εκ νεκρων· και καθισας εν δεξια αυτου εν τοις επουρανιοις—και ὑμας οντας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι και ταις ἁμαρτιαις—και οντας ὑμας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι, συνεζωοποιησε τῳ Χριστῳ.

† Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. Δια της πιστεως της ενεργειας του Θεου του εγειραντος αυτον εκ των νεκρων. Και ὑμας νεκρους οντας εν τοις παραπτωμασι και τῃ ακροβυστιᾳ της σαρκος ὑμων συνεζωοποιησε συν αυτῳ.

‡ Vide Locke, in loc.

the second time by a description of heathen depravity. I have only to remark that Griesbach, in his very accurate edition, gives the parentheses very nearly in the same manner, in which they are here placed; and that without any respect to the comparison, which we are proposing.

Ephes. ch. iv. 2—4. "With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace. There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling*."

Colos. ch. iii. 12—15. "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye; and, above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body†."

In these two quotations the words ταπεινοφροσυνη, πραοτης, μακροθυμια, ανεχομενοι αλληλων, occur in exactly the same order; αγαπη is also found in both, but in a different connexion: συνδεσμος της ειρηνης answers to συνδεσμος της τελειοτητος: εκληθητε εν ενι σωματι to εν σωμα καθως και εκληθητε εν μια ελπιδι: yet is this

* Ephes. ch. iv. 2—4. Μετα πασης ταπεινοφροσυνης και πραοτητος, μετα μακροθυμιας, ανεχομενοι αλληλων εν αγαπη· σπουδαζοντες τηρειν την ενοτητα του πνευματος εν τω συνδεσμω της ειρηνης. Εν σωμα και εν πνευμα, καθως και εκληθητε εν μια ελπιδι της κλησεως ὑμων.

† Colos. ch. iii. 12—15. Ενδυσασθε ουν ως εκλεκτοι του Θεου αγιοι και ηγαπημενοι, σπλαγχνα οικτιρμων, χρηστοτητα, ταπεινοφροσυνην, πραοτητα, μακροθυμιαν ανεχομενοι αλληλων, και χαριζομενοι ἑαυτοις, εαν τις προς τινα εχη μομφην· καθως και ὁ Χριστος εχαρισατο ὑμιν, ουτω και ὑμεις· επι πασι δε τουτοις την αγαπην, ἑητις εστι συνδεσμος της τελειοτητος· και ἡ ειρηνη του Θεου βραβευετω εν ταις καρδιαις ὑμων, εις ἑν και εκληθητε εν ενι σωματι.

similitude found in the midst of sentences otherwise very different.

Ephes. ch. iv. 16. "From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body*."

Colos. ch. ii. 19. "From which all the body, by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God†."

In these quotations are read ἐξ οὗ παν το σωμα συμβιβαζομενον in both places, επιχορηγουμενον answering to επιχορηγιας: δια των αφων to δια πασης αφης: αυξει την αυξησιν to ποιειται την αυξησιν: and yet the sentences are considerably diversified in other parts.

Ephes. ch. iv. 32. "And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you‡."

Colos. ch. iii. 13. "Forbearing one another and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye§."

Here we have "forgiving one another, Even as God, for Christ's sake (εν Χριστῳ), hath forgiven you," in the first quotation, substantially repeated in the second. But in the second the sentence is broken by the interposition of a new clause, "if any man have a quarrel against any:" and the latter part is a little varied; instead of "God in Christ," it is "Christ hath forgiven you."

* Ephes. ch. iv. 16. Εξ οὗ παν το σωμα συναρμολογουμενον και συμβιβαζομενον δια πασης αφης της επιχορηγιας, κατ' ενεργειαν εν μετρῳ ενος εκαστου μερους την αυξησιν του σωματος ποιειται.

† Colos. ch. ii. 19. Εξ οὗ παν το σωμα δια των αφων και συνδεσμων επιχορηγουμενον και συμβιβαζομενον, αυξει την αυξησιν του Θεου.

‡ Ephes. ch iv. 32. Γινεσθε δε εις αλληλους χρηστοι, ευσπλαγχνοι, χαριζομενοι ἑαυτοις, καθως και ὁ Θεος εν Χριστῳ εχαρισατο ὑμιν.

§ Colos. ch. iii. 13. Ανεχομενοι αλληλων, και χαριζομενοι ἑαυτοις, εαν τις προς τινα εχῃ μομφην· καθως και ὁ Χριστος εχαρισατο ὑμιν, οὑτω και ὑμεις.

Ephes. ch. iv. 22—24. "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness*."

Colos. ch. iii. 9, 10. "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him†."

In these quotations, "putting off the old man, and putting on the new," appears in both. The idea is further explained by calling it a renewal; in the one, "renewed in the spirit of your mind;" in the other, "renewed in knowledge." In both, the new man is said to be formed according to the same model; in the one, he is, "after God created in righteousness and true holiness;" in the other, "he is renewed after the image of him that created him." In a word, it is the same person writing upon a kindred subject, with the terms and ideas which he had before employed still floating in his memory‡."

Ephes. ch. v. 6—8. "*Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience:* be not ye

* Ephes. ch. iv. 22—24. Αποθεσθαι ὑμας κατα την προτεραν αναςροφην, τον παλαιον ανθρωπον τον φθειρομενον κατα τας επιθυμιας της απατης· ανανεουσθαι δε τω πνευματι τε νοος ὑμων, και ενδυσασθαι τον καινον ανθρωπον, τον κατα Θεον κτισθεντα εν δικαιοσυνη και ὁσιοτητι της αληθειας.

† Colos. ch. iii. 9, 10. Απεκδυσαμενοι τον παλαιον ανθρωπον συν ταις πραξεσιν αυτου· και ενδυσαμενοι τον νεον, τον ανακαινουμενον εις επιγνωσιν κατ' εικονα του κτισαντος αυτον.

‡ In these comparisons, we often perceive the reason, why the writer, though expressing the same idea, uses a different term; namely, because the term before used is employed in the sentence under a different form: Thus, in the quotations under our eye, the new man is καινος ανθρωπος, in the Ephesians, and τον νεον in the Colossians; but then it is because τον καινον is used in the next word, ανακαινουμενον.

therefore partakers with them; for ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk therefore as children of light*."

Colos. ch. iii. 6—8. "*For which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience;* in the which ye also walked some time, when ye lived in them; but now you also put off all these†."

These verses afford a specimen of that *partial* resemblance which is only to be met with when no imitation is designed, when no studied recollection is employed, but when the mind, exercised upon the same subject, is left to the spontaneous return of such terms and phrases, as, having been used before, may happen to present themselves again. The sentiment of both passages is throughout alike; half of that sentiment, the denunciation of God's wrath, is expressed in identical words; the other half, viz. the admonition to quit their former conversation, in words entirely different.

Ephes. ch. v. 15, 16. "See then that ye walk circumspectly; not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time‡."

Colos. ch. iv. 5. "Walk in wisdom towards them that are without, redeeming the time§."

This is another example of that mixture which we remarked of sameness and variety in the language of one writer. "Redeeming the time," (εξαγοραζομενοι τον καιρον) is a literal repetition. "Walk not as fools, but as wise,"

* Ephes. ch. v. 6—8. Δια ταυτα γαρ ερχεται η οργη του Θεου επι τους υιους της απειθειας. Μη ουν γινεσθε συμμετοχοι αυτων. Ητε γαρ ποτε σκοτος, νυν δε φως εν Κυριω· ως τεκνα φωτος περιπατειτε.

† Colos. iii. 6—8. Δι ἃ ἐρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιεπατήσατέ ποτε, ὅτε ἐζῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀποθέσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα.

‡ Ephes. ch. v. 15, 16. Βλεπετε ουν πως ακριβως περιπατειτε· μη ως ασοφοι, αλλ' ως σοφοι, εξαγοραζομενοι τον καιρον.

§ Colos. iv. 5. Εν σοφια περιπατειτε προς τους εξω, τον καιρον εξαγοραζομενοι.

(περιπατειτε μη ὡς ασοφοι αλλ' ὡς σοφοι) answers exactly in sense, and nearly in terms, to "walk in wisdom" (εν σοφια περιπατειτε). Περιπατειτε ακριβως is a very different phrase, but is intended to convey precisely the same idea as περιπατειτε προς τους εξω: ακριβως is not well rendered "circumspectly." It means what in modern speech we should call "correctly;" and when we advise a person to behave "correctly," our advice is always given with a reference to "the opinion of others." προς τους εξω. "Walk correctly, redeeming the time," i. e. suiting yourselves to the difficulty and ticklishness of the times in which we live, "because the days are evil."

Ephes. ch. vi. 19, 20. "And (praying) for me that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds, that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak*."

Colos. ch. iv. 3, 4. "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak†."

In these quotations, the phrase "as I ought to speak" (ὡς δει με λαλησαι), the words "utterance" (λογος), "mystery" (μυστηριον) "open" (ανοιξη and εν ανοιξει) are the same. "To make known the mystery of the Gospel," (γνωρισαι το μυστηριον) answers to "make it manifest" (ινα φανερωσω αυτο); "for which I am an ambassador in bonds" (υπερ ου πρεσβευω εν αλυσει), to "for which I am also in bonds," (δι ὁ και δεδεμαι).

* Ephes. ch. vi. 19, 20. Και υπερ εμου, ινα μοι δοθη λογος εν ανοιξει του στοματος μου εν παρρησια, γνωρισαι το μυστηριον του ευαγγελιου, υπερ ου πρεσβευω εν αλυσει, ινα εν αυτῳ παρρησιασωμαι, ὡς δει με λαλησαι.

† Colos. ch. iv. 3, 4. Προσευχομενοι αμα και περι ημων, ινα ὁ Θεος ανοιξη ημιν θυραν του λογου. λαλησαι το μυστηριον του Χριστου δι ὁ και δεδεμαι, ινα φανερωσω αυτο, ὡς δει με λαλησαι.

Ephes. ch. v. 22. "*Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord*, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. *Husbands, love your wives*, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself; for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular, so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband. *Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right.* Honour thy father and thy mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth. *And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath*, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or*

free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; *knowing that your master also is in heaven*, neither is there respect of persons with him*."

† Colos. ch. iii. 18. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men, knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.

* Ephes. ch. v. 22. Αι γυναικες, τοις ιδιοις ανδρασι υποτασσεσθε, ως τω Κυριω.

† Colos. ch. iii. 18. Αι γυναικες, υποτασσεσθε τοις ιδιοις ανδρασι, ως ανηκεν εν Κυριω.

Ephes. Οι ανδρες αγαπατε τας γυναικας εαυτων.

Colos. Οι ανδρες, αγαπατε τας γυναικας.

Ephes. Τα τεκνα, υπακουετε τοις γονευσιν υμων εν Κυριω· τουτο γαρ εστι δικαιον.

Colos. Τα τεκνα, υπακουετε τοις γονευσι κατα παντα· τουτο γαρ εστι ευαρεστον τω Κυριω.

Ephes. Και οι πατερες μη παροργιζετε τα τεκνα υμων.

Colos. Οι πατερες μη *αρεθιζετε τα τεκνα υμων.

Ephes Οι δουλοι, υπακουετε τοις κυριοις κατα σαρκα μετα φοβου και τρομου, εν απλοτητι της καρδιας υμων, ως τω Χριστω· μη κατ' οφθαλμοδουλειαν ως ανθρωπαρεσκοι, αλλ' ως δουλοι του Χριστου, ποιουντες το θελημα του Θεου εκ ψυχης· μετ' ευνοιας δουλευοντες ως τω Κυριω, και ουκ ανθρωποις· ειδοτες ότι ο εαν τι εκαστος ποιηση αγαθον, τουτο κομιειται παρα του Κυριου, ειτε δουλος, ειτε ελευθερος.

Colos. Οι δουλοι, υπακουετε κατα παντα τοις κατα σαρκα κυριοις, μη εν οφθαλμοδουλειαις, ως ανθρωπαρεσκοι, αλλ' εν απλοτητι καρδιας, φοβουμενοι τον Θεον· και παν ο, τι εαν ποιητε, εκ ψυχης εργαζεσθε, ως τω Κυριω, και ουκ ανθρωποις, ειδοτες ότι εκ του Κυριου απολημψεσθε την ανταποδοσιν της κληρονομιας· τω γαρ Κυριω Χριστω δουλευετε.

* παροργιζετε, lectio non spernenda, GRIESBACH.

Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven."

The passages marked by Italicks in the quotation from the Ephesians, bear a strict resemblance, not only in signification but in terms, to the quotation from the Colossians. Both the words and the order of the words are in many clauses a duplicate of one another. In the Epistle to the Colossians, these passages are laid together; in that to the Ephesians, they are divided by intermediate matter, especially by a long digressive allusion to the mysterious union between Christ and his church; which possessing, as Mr. Locke hath well observed, the mind of the apostle, from being an incidental thought, grows up into the principal subject. The affinity between these two passages in signification, in terms, and in the order of the words, is closer than can be pointed out between any parts of any two epistles in the volume.

If the reader would see how the same subject is treated by a different hand, and how distinguishable it is from the production of the same pen, let him turn to the second and third chapters of the First Epistle of St. Peter. The duties of servants, of wives and of husbands, are enlarged upon in that epistle, as they are in the Epistle to the Ephesians; but the subjects both occur in a different order, and the train of sentiment subjoined to each is totally unlike.

3. In two letters issuing from the same person, nearly at the same time, and upon the same general occasion, we may expect to trace the influence of association in the order in which the topicks follow one another. Certain ideas universally or usually suggest others. Here the order is what we call natural, and from such an order nothing can be concluded. But when the order is arbitrary, yet alike, the concurrence indicates the effect of that principle, by which ideas, which have been once joined, commonly re-

visit the thoughts together. The epistles under consideration furnish the two following remarkable instances of this species of agreement:

Ephes. ch. iv. 24, 25. "And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness; wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another*."

Colos. ch. iii. 9. "Lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man, with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge†."

The vice of "lying," or a correction of that vice, does not seem to bear any nearer relation to the "putting on the new man," than a reformation in any other article of morals. Yet these two ideas, we see, stand in both epistles in immediate connexion.

Ephes. ch. v. 20—22. "Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another, in the fear of God. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord‡."

Colos. ch. iii. 17. "Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the father by him. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord§."

* Ephes. ch. iv. 24, 25. Και ενδυσασθαι τον καινον ανθρωπον, τον κατα Θεον κτισθεντα εν δικαιοσυνη και οσιοτητι της αληθειας· διο αποθεμενοι το ψευδος, λαλειτε αληθειαν ἑκαστος μετα του πλησιον αυτου· ὁτι εσμεν αλληλων μελη.

† Colos. ch. iii. 9. Μη ψευδεσθε εις αλληλους, απεκδυσαμενοι τον παλαιον ανθρωπον συν ταις πραξεσιν αυτου, και ενδυσαμενοι τον νεον, τον ανακαινουμενον εις επιγνωσιν.

‡ Ephes. ch. v. 20—22. Ευχαριστουντες παντοτε ὑπερ παντων, εν ονοματι του Κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, τῳ Θεῳ και πατρι, ὑποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβῳ Θεου. Αι γυναικες, τοις ἰδιοις ανδρασιν ὑποτασσεσθε, ὡς τῳ Κυριῳ.

§ Colos. ch. iii. 17. Και παν ὁ, τι αν ποιητε, εν λογῳ, η εν εργῳ, παντα εν ονοματι Κυριου Ιησου, ευχαριστουντες τῳ Θεῳ και πατρι δι' αυτου. Αι γυναικες, ὑποτασσεσθε τοις ἰδιοις ανδρασιν, ὡς ανηκεν εν Κυριῳ.

In both these passages, submission follows giving of thanks, without any similitude in the ideas which should account for the transition.

It is not necessary to pursue the comparison between the two epistles further. The argument which results from it stands thus: No two other epistles contain a circumstance which indicates that they were written at the same, or nearly at the same time. No two other epistles exhibit so many marks of correspondency and resemblance. If the original which we ascribe to these two epistles be the true one, that is, if they were both really written by St. Paul, and both sent to their respective destination by the same messenger, the similitude is, in all points, what should be expected to take place. If they were forgeries, then the mention of Tychicus in both epistles, and in a manner which shows that he either carried or accompanied both epistles, was inserted for the purpose of accounting for their similitude; or else the structure of the epistles was designedly adapted to that circumstance; or, lastly, the conformity between the contents of the forgeries, and what is thus indirectly intimated concerning their date, was only a happy accident. Not one of these three suppositions will gain credit with a reader who peruses the epistles with attention, and who reviews the several examples we have pointed out, and the observations with which they were accompanied.

No. II.

There is such a thing as a peculiar word or phrase cleaving, as it were, to the memory of a writer or speaker, and presenting itself to his utterance at every turn. When we observe this, we call it a *cant* word, or a *cant* phrase. It is a natural effect of habit; and would appear more frequently than it does, had not the rules of good writing taught the ear to be offended with the iteration of the same

sound, and oftentimes caused us to reject, on that account, the word which offered itself first to our recollection. With a writer who, like St. Paul, either knew not these rules, or disregarded them, such words will not be avoided. The truth is, an example of this kind runs through several of his epistles, and in the epistle before us *abounds;* and that is in the word *riches* (πλουτος,) used metaphorically as an augmentative of the idea to which it happens to be subjoined. Thus, "the *riches* of his glory," "his *riches* in glory," "*riches* of the glory of his inheritance," "*riches* of the glory of this mystery," Rom. ch. ix. 23, Ephes. ch. iii. 16, Ephes. ch. i. 18, Colos. ch. i. 27; "*riches* of his grace," twice in the Ephesians, ch. i. 7, and ch. ii. 7; "*riches* of the full assurance of understanding," Colos. ch. ii. 2; "*riches* of his goodness," Rom. ch. ii. 4; "*riches* of the wisdom of God," Rom. ch. xi. 33; "*riches* of Christ," Ephes. ch. iii. 8. In a like sense the adjective. Rom. ch. x. 12, "*rich* unto all that call upon him;" Ephes. ch. ii. 4. "*rich* in mercy;" 1 Tim. ch. vi. 18, "*rich* in good works." Also the adverb, Colos. ch. iii, 16, "let the word of Christ dwell in you *richly.*" This figurative use of the word, though so familiar to St. Paul, does not occur in any part of the New Testament, except once in the epistle of St. James, ch. ii. 5, "Hath not God chosen the *poor* of this world, *rich* in faith?" where it is manifestly suggested by the antithesis. I propose the frequent, yet seemingly unaffected use of this phrase, in the epistle before us, as one internal mark of its genuineness.

No. III.

There is another singularity in St. Paul's style, which, wherever it is found, may be deemed a badge of authenticity; because, if it were noticed, it would not, I think, be imitated, inasmuch as it almost always produces embarrass-

ment and interruption in the reasoning. This singularity is a species of digression which may probably, I think, be denominated *going off at a word.* It is turning aside from the subject upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetick sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. I shall lay before the reader some examples of this, collected from the other epistles, and then propose two examples of it which are found in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 2 Cor. ch. ii. 14, at the word *savour:* "Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* of his knowledge by us in every place; for we are unto God a sweet *savour* of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one we are the *savour* of death unto death, and to the other the *savour* of life unto life; and who is sufficient for these things? For we are not as many which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God; in the sight of God speak we in Christ." Again, 2 Cor. ch. iii. 1, at the word *epistle.* "Need we, as some others, *epistles* of commendation to you? or of commendation from you? ye are our *epistle*, written in our hearts, known and read of all men; forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the *epistle* of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart." The position of the words in the original, shows more strongly than in the translation that it was the occurrence of the word επιστολη which gave birth to the sentence that follows: 2 Cor. chap. iii. 1. Ει μη χρηζομεν, ὡς τινες, συστατικων επιστολων προς ὑμας, η εξ ὑμων συστατικων; η επιστολη ἡμων ὑμεις εστε, εγγεγραμμενη εν ταις καρδιαις ἡμων, γινωσκομενη και αναγινωσκομενη ὑπο παντων ανθρωπων, φανερουμενοι ὁτι

ϊστε ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι Θεοῦ ζῶντος· οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις, ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίαις σαρκίναις.

Again, 2 Cor. ch. iii. 12, &c. at the word *veil:* "Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech; and not as Moses, which put a *veil* over his face, that the children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which is abolished. But their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same *veil* untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which *veil* is done away in Christ; but even unto this day, when Moses is read, the *veil* is upon their heart: nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the *veil* shall be taken away (now the Lord is that spirit; and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty). But we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord. Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not."

Who sees not that this whole allegory of the *veil* arises entirely out of the occurrence of the word, in telling us that "Moses put a *veil* over his face," and that it drew the apostle away from the proper subject of his discourse, the dignity of the office in which he was engaged: which subject he fetches up again almost in the words with which he had left it; "therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." The sentence which he had before been going on with, and in which he had been interrupted by the *veil*, was, "seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech."

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the reader will remark two instances in which the same habit of composition obtains; he will recognize the same pen. One he will find, chap. iv. 8—11, at the word *ascended:* "Wherefore he

saith, When he *ascended* up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he *ascended*, what is it but that he also descended first unto the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that *ascended* up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles," &c.

The other appears, chap. v. 12—15, at the word *light:* "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret: but all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the *light;* (for whatsoever doth make manifest, is *light;* wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee *light:*) see then that ye walk circumspectly."

No. IV.

Although it does not appear to have ever been disputed that the epistle before us was written by St. Paul, yet it is well known that a doubt has long been entertained concerning the persons to whom it was addressed. The question is founded partly in some ambiguity in the external evidence. Marcion, a heretick of the second century, as quoted by Tertullian, a father in the beginning of the third, calls it the Epistle to the Laodiceans. From what we know of Marcion, his judgment is little to be relied upon; nor is it perfectly clear that Marcion was rightly understood by Tertullian. If, however, Marcion be brought to prove that some copies in his time gave εν Λαοδικειᾳ in the superscription, his testimony if it be truly interpreted, is not diminished by his heresy; for, as Grotius observes, "*cur meâ re mentiretur nihil erat causæ.*" The name εν Εφεσῳ, in the first verse, upon which word singly depends the proof, that the epistle was written to the Ephesians, is not read in all the manuscripts now extant. I admit, however, that the exter-

nal evidence preponderates with a manifest excess on the side of the received reading. The objection therefore principally arises from the contents of the epistle itself, which, in many respects, militate with the supposition that it was written to the church of Ephesus. According to the history, St. Paul had passed two whole years at Ephesus, Acts, chap. xix. 10. And in this point, viz. of St. Paul having preached for a considerable length of time at Ephesus, the history is confirmed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and by the two Epistles to Timothy. "I will tarry at *Ephesus* unto Pentecost," 1 Cor. ch. xvi. ver. 8. "We would not have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in *Asia*," 2 Cor. ch. i. 8. "As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, when I went into Macedonia," 1 Tim. ch. i. 3. "And in how many things he ministered to me at *Ephesus* thou knowest well," 2 Tim. ch. i. 18. I adduce these testimonies, because, had it been a competition of credit between the history and the epistle, I should have thought myself bound to have preferred the epistle. Now, every epistle which St. Paul wrote to churches, which he himself had founded, or which he had visited, abounds with references, and appeals to what had passed during the time that he was present amongst them; whereas there is not a text in the Epistle to the Ephesians, from which we can collect that he had ever been at Ephesus at all. The two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, are of this class; and they are full of allusions to the apostle's history, his reception, and his conduct, whilst amongst them; the total want of which, in the epistle before us, is very difficult to account for, if it was in truth written to the church of Ephesus, in which city he had resided for so long a time. This is the first and

strongest objection. But further, the Epistle to the Colossians was addressed to a church, in which St. Paul had never been. This we infer from the first verse of the second chapter: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." There could be no propriety in thus joining the Colossians and Laodiceans with those "who had not seen his face in the flesh," if they did not also belong to the same description*. Now, his address to the Colossians, whom he had not visited, is precisely the same as his address to the Christians, to whom he wrote in the epistle, which we are now considering: "We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, *since we heard of your faith* in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints." Col. ch. i. 3. Thus, he speaks to the Colossians, in the epistle before us, as follows: "Wherefore I also, *after I heard of your faith* in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you in my prayers," chap. i. 15. The terms of this address are observable. The words "having *heard* of your faith and love," are the very words, we see, which he uses towards strangers; and it is not probable that he should employ the same in accosting a church in which he had long exercised his ministry, and whose "faith and love" he must have personally known†. The Epistle to the Romans was written before St. Paul had been at Rome;

* Dr. Lardner contends against the validity of this conclusion; but, I think, without success. LARDNER, vol. xiv. p. 473. edit. 1757.

† Mr. Locke endeavours to avoid this difficulty, by explaining "*their faith*, of which St. Paul had heard," to mean the steadfastness of their persuasion that they were called into the kingdom of God, without subjection to the Mosaick institution. But this interpretation seems to me

and his address to them runs in the same strain with that just now quoted; "I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, for you all, that your faith is *spoken* of throughout the whole world." Rom. chap. i. 8. Let us now see what was the form in which our apostle was accustomed to introduce his epistles, when he wrote to those with whom he was already acquainted. To the Corinthians it was this: "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Christ Jesus," 1 Cor. ch. i. 4. To the Philippians: "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you," Phil. ch. i. 3. To the Thessalonians: "We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers, remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love," 1 Thess. chap. i. 3. To Timothy: "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day," 2 Tim. chap. i. 4. In these quotations, it is usually his *remembrance*, and never his *hearing* of them, which he makes the subject of his thankfulness to God.

As great difficulties stand in the way of supposing the epistle before us to have been written to the church of Ephesus, so I think it probable that it is actually the Epistle to the Laodiceans, referred to in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians. The text which contains that reference is this: "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea,"

extremely *hard*; for, in the manner in which faith is here joined with love, in the expression, "your faith and love," it could not be meant to denote any particular tenet which distinguished one set of Christians from others; forasmuch as the expression describes the general virtues of the Christian profession. Vide LOCKE, in loc.

chap. iv. 16. The "epistle *from* Laodicea" was an epistle sent by St. Paul to that church, and by them transmitted to Colosse. The two churches were mutually to communicate the epistles they had received. This is the way in which the direction is explained by the greater part of commentators, and is the most probable sense that can be given to it. It is also probable that the epistle alluded to was an epistle which had been received by the church of Laodicea *lately*. It appears then, with a considerable degree of evidence, that there existed an epistle of St. Paul's nearly of the same date with the Epistle to the Colossians, and an epistle directed to a church (for such the church of Laodicea was) in which St. Paul had never been. What has been observed concerning the epistle before us, shows that it answers perfectly to that character.

Nor does the mistake seem very difficult to account for. Whoever inspects the map of Asia Minor will see, that a person proceeding from Rome to Laodicea would probably land at Ephesus, as the nearest frequented sea-port in that direction. Might not Tychicus then, in passing through Ephesus, communicate to the Christians of that place the letter, with which he was charged? And might not copies of that letter be multiplied and preserved at Ephesus? Might not some of the copies drop the words of designation ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ*, which it was of no consequence to an

* And it is remarkable that there seem to have been some ancient copies without the words of designation, either the words *in Ephesus*, or the words *in Laodicea*. St. Basil, a writer of the fourth century, speaking of the present epistle, has this very singular passage: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him who is through knowledge, he (Paul) calleth them in a peculiar sense *such who are*, saying, *to the saints who are and* (or *even*) *the faithful in Christ Jesus*; for so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies." Dr. Mill

Ephesian to retain? Might not copies of the letter come out into the Christian church at large from Ephesus; and might not this give occasion to a belief that the letter was written to that church? And, lastly, might not this belief produce the errour which we suppose to have crept into the inscription?

No. V.

As our epistle purports to have been written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which lies beyond the period, to which the Acts of the Apostles brings up his history; and as we have seen and acknowledged that the epistle contains no reference to any transaction at Ephesus during the apostle's residence in that city, we cannot expect that it should supply many marks of agreement with the narrative. One coincidence however occurs, and a coincidence of that minute and less obvious kind, which, as hath been repeatedly observed, is of all others the most to be relied upon.

Chap. vi. 19, 20, we read, "praying for me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds." "*In bonds*," ἐν ἁλύσει, in a *chain*. In the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts we are informed, that Paul, after his arrival at Rome, was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier, that

interprets (and, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to him, in my opinion rightly interprets) these words of Basil, as declaring that this father had seen certain copies of the Epistle in which the words "in Ephesus" were wanting. And the passage, I think, must be considered as Basil's fanciful way of explaining what was really a corrupt and defective reading; for I do not believe it possible that the author of the Epistle could have originally written ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, without any name of place to follow it.

kept him. Dr. Lardner has shown that this mode of custody was in use amongst the Romans, and that whenever it was adopted the prisoner was bound to the soldier by a single chain; in reference to which St. Paul, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, tells the Jews, whom he had assembled, "For this cause therefore have I called for you to see you, and to speak with you, because that for the hope of Israel I am bound *with this chain*," *την ἁλυσιν ταυτην περικειμαι*. It is in exact conformity therefore with the truth of St. Paul's situation at the time, that he declares of himself in the epistle *πρεσβευω εν ἁλυσει*. And the exactness is the more remarkable, as *ἁλυσις* (a chain) is no where used in the singular number to express any other kind of custody. When the prisoner's hands or feet were bound together, the word was *δεσμοι* (bonds), as in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts, where Paul replies to Agrippa, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except *these bonds*," *παρεκτος των δεσμων τουτων*. When the prisoner was confined between two soldiers, as in the case of Peter, Acts, chap. xii. 6, two chains were employed; and it is said, upon his miraculous deliverance, that the "chains" (*ἁλυσεις*, in the plural) "fell from his hands." *Δεσμος* the noun, and *δεσμαι* the verb, being general terms, were applicable to this in common with any other species of personal coercion; but *ἁλυσις*, in the singular number, to none but this.

If it can be suspected that the writer of the present epistle, who, in no other particular, appears to have availed himself of the information concerning St. Paul delivered in the Acts, had, in this verse, borrowed the word, which he read in that book, and had adapted his expression to what he found there recorded of St. Paul's treatment at

Rome; in short, that the coincidence here noted was effected by craft and design; I think it a strong reply to remark, that, in the parallel passage of the Epistle to the Colossians, the same allusion is not preserved: the words there are, "praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, for which *I am also in bonds*," δι ὁ καὶ δέδεμαι. After what has been shown in a preceding number, there can be little doubt but that these two epistles were written by the same person. If the writer, therefore, sought for, and fraudulently inserted, the correspondency into one epistle, why did he not do it in the other? A real prisoner might use either general words which comprehended this amongst many other modes of custody; or might use appropriate words which specified this, and distinguished it from any other mode. It would be accidental which form of expression he fell upon. But an impostor, who had the art, in one place, to employ the appropriate term for the purpose of fraud, would have used it in both places.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

No. I.

When a transaction is referred to in such a manner, as that the reference is easily and immediately understood by those who are beforehand, or from other quarters, acquainted with the fact, but is obscure, or imperfect, or requires investigation, or a comparison of different parts, in order to be made clear to other readers, the transaction so referred to is probably real; because, had it been fictitious, the

writer would have set forth his story more fully and plainly, not merely as conscious of the fiction, but as conscious that his readers could have no other knowledge of the subject of his allusion than from the information of which he put them in possession.

The account of Epaphroditus, in the Epistle to the Philippians, of his journey to Rome, and of the business which brought him thither, is the article to which I mean to apply this observation. There are three passages in the epistle which relate to this subject. The first, chap. i. 7, "Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are συγκοινωνοι μου της χαριτος, joint contributors to the gift which I have received*." Nothing more is said in this place. In the latter part of the second chapter, and at the distance of half the epistle from the last quotation, the subject appears again: "Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow soldier, but your messenger, and *he that ministered to my wants:* for he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick: for indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. I sent him therefore the more carefully, that when ye see him again ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Re-

* Pearce, I believe, was the first commentator who gave this sense to the expression; and I believe also, that his exposition is now generally assented to. He interprets in the same sense the phrase in the fifth verse, which our translation renders, "your fellowship in the gospel;" but which in the original is not κοινωνια του ευαγγελιου, or, κοινωνια εν τω ευαγγελιω; but κοινωνια εις το ευαγγελιον.

ceive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness; and hold such in reputation: because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life *to supply your lack of service toward me.*" Chap. ii. 25—30. The matter is here dropped, and no further mention made of it till it is taken up near the conclusion of the epistle as follows: "But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity: not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; every where and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye have well done that ye did communicate with my affliction. Now ye, Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only; for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity: not because I desire a gift; but I desire fruit that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound; I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you." Chap. iv. 10—18. To the Philippian reader, who knew that contributions were wont to be made in that church for the apostle's subsistence and relief, that the supply which they were accustomed to send to him had been delayed by the want of opportunity, that Epaphroditus had undertaken the charge of conveying their liberality to the hands of the apostle, that he had acquitted himself of this commission at the peril of his life, by hastening to Rome under the oppression of a grievous sickness; to a reader who knew

all this beforehand, every line in the above quotations would be plain and clear. But how is it with a stranger? The knowledge of these several particulars is necessary to the perception and explanation of the references; yet that knowledge must be gathered from a comparison of passages lying at a great distance from one another. Texts must be interpreted by texts long subsequent to them, which necessarily produces embarrassment and suspense. The passage quoted from the beginning of the epistle contains an acknowledgment, on the part of the apostle, of the liberality which the Philippians had exercised towards him; but the allusion is so general and indeterminate, that, had nothing more been said in the sequel of the epistle, it would hardly have been applied to this occasion at all. In the second quotation, Epaphroditus is declared to have "ministered to the apostle's wants," and "to have supplied their lack of service towards him;" but *how*, that is, at whose expense, or from what fund he "ministered," or what was the "lack of service" which he supplied, are left very much unexplained, till we arrive at the third quotation, where we find that Epaphroditus "ministered to St. Paul's wants," only by conveying to his hands the contributions of the Philippians; "I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you:" and that "the lack of service which he supplied" was a delay or interruption of their accustomed bounty, occasioned by the want of opportunity; "I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity." The affair at length comes out clear; but it comes out by piecemeal. The clearness is the result of the reciprocal illustration of divided texts. Should any one choose therefore to insinuate, that this whole story of Epaphroditus, of his

journey, his errand, his sickness, or even his existence, might, for what we know, have no other foundation than in the invention of the forger of the epistle; I answer, that a forger would have set forth his story connectedly, and also more fully and more perspicuously. If the epistle be authentick, and the transaction real, then every thing which is said concerning Epaphroditus and his commission, would be clear to those into whose hands the epistle was expected to come. Considering the Philippians as his readers, a person might naturally write upon the subject, as the author of the epistle has written; but there is no supposition of forgery with which it will suit.

No. II.

The history of Epaphroditus supplies another observation: "Indeed he was sick, nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." In this passage, no intimation is given that Epaphroditus's recovery was miraculous. It is plainly, I think, spoken of as a natural event. This instance, together with one in the Second Epistle to Timothy, ("Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick,") affords a proof that the power of performing cures, and, by parity of reason, of working other miracles, was a power which only visited the apostles occasionally, and did not at all depend upon their own will. Paul undoubtedly would have healed Epaphroditus if he could. Nor, if the power of working cures had awaited his disposal, would he have left his fellow traveller at Miletum sick. This, I think, is a fair observation upon the instances adduced; but it is not the observation I am concerned to make. It is more for the purpose of my argument to remark, that forgery, upon such an occasion, would not have spared a miracle;

much less would it have introduced St. Paul professing the utmost anxiety for the safety of his friend, yet acknowledging himself unable to help him: which he does almost expressly, in the case of Trophimus, for he "left him sick;" and virtually in the passage before us, in which he felicitates himself upon the recovery of Epaphroditus, in terms which almost exclude the supposition of any supernatural means being employed to effect it. This is a reserve which nothing but truth would have imposed.

No. III.

Chap. iv. 15, 16. "Now ye, Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only: for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity."

It will be necessary to state the Greek of this passage, because our translation does not, I think, give the sense of it accurately.

Οιδατε δε και υμεις, Φιλιππησιοι, οτι εν αρχῃ του ευαγγελιου, οτε εξηλθον απο Μακεδονιας, ουδεμια μοι εκκλησια εκοινωνησεν εις λογον δοσεως και ληψεως, ει μη υμεις μονοι· οτι και εν Θεσσαλονικῃ και απαξ και δις εις την χρειαν μοι επεμψατε.

The reader will please to direct his attention to the corresponding particles οτι and οτι και, which connect the words εν αρχῃ του ευαγγελιου, οτε εξηλθον απο Μακεδονιας, with the words εν Θεσσαλονικῃ, and denote, as I interpret the passage, two distinct donations, or rather donations at two distinct periods, one at Thessalonica, απαξ και δις, the other *after* his departure from Macedonia, οτε εξηλθον απο Μακεδονιας*. I would

* Luke, ch. ii. 15. Και εγενετο, ως απηλθον απ' αυτων εις τον ουρανον οι αγγελοι, "as the angels were gone away," i. e. *after* their departure, οι ποιμενες ελεγον προς αλληλους. Matth. ch. xii. 43, Οταν δε το ακαθαρτον πνευμα εξελθῃ απο του ανθρωπου, "when the unclean spirit is gone," i. e. *after* his departure,

render the passage, so as to mark these different periods, thus: "Now ye, Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I was departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only; and that also in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." Now with this exposition of the passage compare 2 Cor. ch. xi. 8, 9: "I robbed other churches, taking wages of them to do you service: and when I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which was lacking to me the brethrén which came from Macedonia supplied."

It appears from St Paul's history, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, that upon leaving Macedonia he passed, after a very short stay at Athens, into Achaia. It appears, secondly, from the quotation out of the Epistle to the Corinthians, that in Achaia he accepted no pecuniary assistance from the converts of that country; but that he drew a supply for his wants from the Macedonian Christians. Agreeably whereunto it appears, in the third place, from the text which is the subject of the present number, that the brethren in Philippi, a city of Macedonia, had followed him with their munificence, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, when he was departed from Macedonia, that is, when he was *come into Achaia.*

The passage under consideration affords another circumstance of agreement deserving of our notice. The gift alluded to in the Epistle to the Philippians is stated to have been made "in the beginning of the gospel." This phrase is most naturally explained to signify the first preaching of the gospel in these parts; viz. on that side of the

διαχεται. John, ch. xiii. 30, Ὅτε ἐξῆλθε (Ἰούδας) "when he was gone," i. e. *after* his departure, λεγει Ἰησοῦς. Acts, ch. x. 7, ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Κορνηλίῳ, "and when the angel which spake unto him was departed," i. e. *after* his departure, φωνήσας δύο τῶν οἰκετῶν, &c.

Ægean sea. The succours referred to in the Epistle to the Corinthians, as received from Macedonia, are stated to have been received by him upon his first visit to the peninsula of Greece. The dates therefore assigned to the donation in the two epistles agree; yet is the date in one ascertained very incidentally, namely, by the considerations which fix the date of the epistle itself; and in the other, by an expression ("the beginning of the gospel") much too general to have been used, if the text had been penned with any view to the correspondency we are remarking.

Further, the phrase, "in the *beginning* of the gospel," raises an idea in the reader's mind that the gospel had been preached there more than once. The writer would hardly have called the visit to which he refers the "beginning of the gospel," if he had not also visited them in some other stage of it. The fact corresponds with this idea. If we consult the sixteenth and twentieth chapters of the Acts, we shall find, that St. Paul, before his imprisonment at Rome, during which this epistle purports to have been written, had been *twice* in Macedonia, and each time at Philippi.

No. IV.

That Timothy had been long with St. Paul at Philippi is a fact which seems to be implied in this epistle twice. First, he joins in the salutation with which the epistle opens, "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi." Secondly, and more directly, the point is inferred from what is said concerning him, chap. ii. 19: "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort when I know your state; for I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state; for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's; but *ye know the proof of him*, that as a son with

the father, he hath served with me in the gospel." Had Timothy's presence with St. Paul at Philippi, when he preached the gospel there, been expressly remarked in the Acts of the Apostles, this quotation might be thought to contain a contrived adaptation to the history; although, even in that case, the averment, or rather the allusion in the epistle, is too oblique to afford much room for such suspicion. But the truth is, that in the history of St. Paul's transactions at Philippi, which occupies the greatest part of the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, no mention is made of Timothy at all. What appears concerning Timothy in the history, so far as relates to the present subject, is this; "When Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus, whom Paul would have to go forth with him." The narrative then proceeds with the account of St. Paul's progress through various provinces of the Lesser Asia, till it brings him down to Troas. At Troas he was warned in a vision to pass over into Macedonia. In obedience to which he crossed the Ægean sea to Samothracia, the next day to Neapolis, and from thence to Philippi. His preaching, miracles, and persecutions at Philippi follow next; after which Paul and his company, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, and from Thessalonica to Berea. From Berea the brethren sent away Paul; "but Silas and *Timotheus* abode there still." The itinerary, of which the above is an abstract, is undoubtedly sufficient to support an inference that Timothy was along with St. Paul at Philippi. We find them setting out together upon this progress from Derbe, in Lycaonia; we find them together near the conclusion of it, at Berea, in Macedonia. It is highly probable, therefore, that they came together to Philippi, through which their route between these two places lay. If this be thought probable, it is sufficient. For what

I wish to be observed is, that in comparing, upon this subject, the epistle with the history, we do not find a recital in one place of what is related in another; but that we find, what is much more to be relied upon, an oblique allusion to an implied fact.

No. V.

Our epistle purports to have been written near the conclusion of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and after a residence in that city of considerable duration. These circumstances are made out by different intimations, and the intimations upon the subject preserve among themselves a just consistency, and a consistency certainly unmeditated. First, the apostle had already been a prisoner at Rome so long, as that the reputation of his bonds, and of his constancy under them, had contributed to advance the success of the gospel: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." Secondly, the account given of Epaphroditus imports, that St. Paul, when he wrote the epistle, had been in Rome a considerable time: "He longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick." Epaphroditus was with St. Paul at Rome. He had been sick. The Philippians had heard of his sickness, and he again had received an account how much they had been affected by the intelligence. The passing and repassing of these advices must necessarily have occupied a large portion of time, and must have all taken place during St. Paul's residence at Rome. Thirdly, after a residence at Rome thus proved to have been of con-

siderable duration, he now regards the decision of his fate as nigh at hand. He contemplates either alternative, that of his deliverance, ch. ii. 23. "Him therefore (Timothy) I hope to send *presently*, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly;" that of his condemnation, ver. 17, "Yea, and if I be offered* upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." This consistency is material, if the consideration of it be confined to the epistle. It is further material, as it agrees, with respect to the duration of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, with the account delivered in the Acts, which, having brought the apostle to Rome, closes the history by telling us, "that he dwelt there *two whole years* in his own hired house."

No. VI.

Chap. i. 23. "For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better."

With this compare 2 Cor. chap. v. 8. "We are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord."

The sameness of sentiment in these two quotations is obvious. I rely however not so much upon that, as upon the similitude in the train of thought which in each epistle leads up to this sentiment, and upon the suitableness of that train of thought to the circumstances under which the epistles purport to have been written. This, I conceive, bespeaks the production of the same mind, and of a mind operating upon real circumstances. The sentiment is in both places preceded by the contemplation of imminent personal danger. To the Philippians he writes, in the

* Αλλ' ει και σπενδομαι επι τη θυσια της πιστεως υμων, if my blood be poured out as a libation upon the sacrifice of your faith.

twentieth verse of this chapter, "According to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, *so now also*, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." To the Corinthians, "Troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus." This train of reflection is continued to the place from whence the words which we compare are taken. The two epistles, though written at different times, from different places, and to different churches, were both written under circumstances which would naturally recal to the author's mind the precarious condition of his life, and the perils which constantly awaited him. When the Epistle to the Philippians was written, the author was a prisoner at home, expecting his trial. When the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, he had lately escaped a danger in which he had given himself over for lost. The epistle opens with a recollection of this subject, and the impression accompanied the writer's thoughts throughout.

I know that nothing is easier than to transplant into a forged epistle a sentiment or expression which is found in a true one; or, supposing both epistles to be forged by the same hand, to insert the same sentiment or expression in both. But the difficulty is to introduce it in just and close connexion with a train of thought going before, and with a train of thought apparently generated by the circumstances under which the epistle is written. In two epistles, purporting to be written on different occasions, and in different periods of the author's history, this propriety would not easily be managed.

No. VII.

Chap. i. 29, 30; ii. 1, 2. "For unto you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which *ye saw in me*, and now hear to be in me. If there be, therefore, any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies: fulfil ye my joy; that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

With this compare Acts xvi. 22: "And the multitude (at Philippi) rose up against them (Paul and Silas); and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them; and when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailer to keep them safely; who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks."

The passage in the epistle is very remarkable. I know not an example in any writing of a juster pathos, or which more truly represents the workings of a warm and affectionate mind, than what is exhibited in the quotation before us*. The apostle reminds his Philippians of their being joined with himself in the endurance of persecution for the sake of Christ. He conjures them by the ties of their common profession and their common sufferings, to "fulfil his joy;" to complete, by the unity of their faith, and by their mutual love, that joy with which the instances he had received of their zeal and attachment had inspired his breast. Now if this was the real effusion of St. Paul's mind, of which it bears the strongest internal character, then we

* The original is very spirited Ει τις υν παρακλησις εν Χριστῳ, ει τι παραμυθιον αγαπης, ει τις κοινωνια πνευματος, ει τινα σπλαγχνα και οικτιρμοι, πληρωσατε μου την χαραν.

have in the words "the same conflict which ye saw in me," an authentick confirmation of so much of the apostle's history in the Acts, as relates to his transactions at Philippi; and through that of the intelligence and general fidelity of the historian.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

No. I.

There is a circumstance of conformity between St. Paul's history and his letters, especially those which were written during his first imprisonment at Rome, and more especially the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, which, being too close to be accounted for from accident, yet too indirect and latent to be imputed to design, cannot easily be resolved into any other original than truth. Which circumstance is this, that St. Paul in these epistles attributes his imprisonment not to his preaching of Christianity, but to his asserting the right of the Gentiles to be admitted into it without conforming themselves to the Jewish law. This was the doctrine to which he considered himself as a martyr. Thus, in the epistle before us, chap. i. 24. (I Paul) "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you"—"*for you*," i. e. for those whom he had never seen; for a few verses afterwards he adds, "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." His suffering therefore for *them* was, in their general capacity of Gentile Christians, agreeably to what he explicitly declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 1. "For this

cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, *for you Gentiles.*" Again in the epistle now under consideration, iv. 3. "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the *mystery* of Christ, for which I am also in bonds." What that "mystery of Christ" was, the Epistle to the Ephesians distinctly informs us; "whereby when ye read ye may understand my knowledge in the *mystery of Christ*, which, in other ages, was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, *that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.*" This, therefore, was the *confession* for which he declares himself to be in bonds. Now let us inquire how the occasion of St. Paul's imprisonment is represented in the history. The apostle had not long returned to Jerusalem from his second visit into Greece, when an uproar was excited in that city by the clamour of certain Asiatick Jews, who, "having seen Paul in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him." The charge advanced against him was, that "he taught all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and polluted that holy place." The former part of the charge seems to point at the doctrine, which he maintained, of the admission of the Gentiles, under the new dispensation, to an indiscriminate participation of God's favour with the Jews. But what follows makes the matter clear. When, by the interference of the chief captain, Paul had been rescued out of the hands of the populace, and was permitted to address the multitude who had followed him to the stairs of the castle, he delivered a brief account of his birth, of the early course of his life, of his miraculous conversion; and is proceed-

ing in his narrative, until he comes to describe a vision which was presented to him, as he was praying in the temple; and which bid him depart out of Jerusalem, "for I will send thee far hence *unto the Gentiles*." Acts xxii. 21. "They gave him audience," says the historian, "*unto this word;* and then lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth!" Nothing can show more strongly than this account does, what was the offence which drew down upon St. Paul the vengeance of his countrymen. His mission to the Gentiles, and his open avowal of that mission, was the intolerable part of the apostle's crime. But although the real motive of the prosecution appears to have been the apostle's conduct towards the Gentiles; yet, when his accusers came before a Roman magistrate, a charge was to be framed of a more legal form. The profanation of the temple was the article they chose to rely upon. This, therefore, became the immediate subject of Tertullus's oration before Felix, and of Paul's defence. But that he all along considered his ministry amongst the Gentiles as the actual source of the enmity that had been exercised against him, and in particular as the cause of the insurrection in which his person had been seized, is apparent from the conclusion of his discourse before Agrippa: "I have appeared unto thee," says he, describing what passed upon his journey to Damascus, "for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. Whereupon, O king

Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision; but showed first unto them of Damascus, and of Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. *For these causes* the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me." The seizing, therefore, of St. Paul's person, from which he was never discharged till his final liberation at Rome; and of which, therefore, his imprisonment at Rome was the continuation and effect, was not in consequence of any general persecution set on foot against Christianity; nor did it befal him simply, as professing or teaching Christ's religion, which James and the elders at Jerusalem did as well as he (and yet for any thing that appears remained at that time unmolested); but it was distinctly and specifically brought upon him by his activity in preaching to the Gentiles, and by his boldly placing them upon a level with the once favoured and still self-flattered posterity of Abraham. How well St. Paul's letters, purporting to be written during this imprisonment, agree with this account of its cause and origin, we have already seen.

No. II.

Chap. iv. 10. "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments. If he come unto you, receive him, and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision."

We find Aristarchus as a companion of our apostle in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-ninth verse: "And the whole city of Ephesus was filled with confusion; and having caught Gaius and *Aristarchus*, men of Macedonia, *Paul's companions in travel*, they rushed with one

accord into the theatre." And we find him upon his journey with St. Paul to Rome, in the twenty-seventh chapter, and the second verse: "And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus's band; and, entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail to the coast of Asia; one *Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.*" But might not the author of the epistle have consulted the history; and, observing that the historian had brought Aristarchus along with Paul to Rome, might he not for that reason, and without any other foundation, have put down his name amongst the salutations of an epistle, purporting to be written by the apostle from that place? I allow so much of possibility to this objection, that I should not have proposed this in the number of coincidences clearly undesigned, had Aristarchus stood alone. The observation that strikes me in reading the passage is, that together with Aristarchus, whose journey to Rome we trace in the history, are joined Marcus and Justus, of whose coming to Rome the history says nothing. Aristarchus alone appears in the history, and Aristarchus alone would have appeared in the epistle, if the author had regulated himself by that conformity. Or if you take it the other way; if you suppose the history to have been made out of the epistle, why the journey of Aristarchus to Rome should be recorded, and not that of Marcus and Justus, if the groundwork of the narrative was the appearance of Aristarchus's name in the epistle, seems to be unaccountable.

"Marcus, *sister's son* to Barnabas." Does not this hint account for Barnabas's adherence to Mark in the contest that arose with our apostle concerning him? "And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again

and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do: and *Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark;* but Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work; and the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other; and so Barnabas took Mark and sailed unto Cyprus." The history which records the dispute has not preserved the circumstance of Mark's relationship to Barnabas. It is no where noticed but in the text before us. As far, therefore, as it applies, the application is certainly undesigned.

"*Sister's* son to Barnabas." This woman, the mother of Mark, and the sister of Barnabas, was, as might be expected, a person of some eminence amongst the Christians of Jerusalem. It so happens that we hear of her in the history. "When Peter was delivered from prison, he came to the house of *Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark*, where many were gathered together praying." Acts, xii. 12. There is somewhat of coincidence in this; somewhat bespeaking real transactions amongst real persons.

No. III.

The following coincidence, though it bear the appearance of great nicety and refinement, ought not, perhaps, to be deemed imaginary. In the salutations with which this, like most of St. Paul's epistles, concludes, we have "Aristarchus and Marcus, and Jesus, which is called Justus, *who are of the circumcision*," iv. 10, 11. Then follow also, "Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas." Now as this description, "who are of the circumcision," is added after the three first names, it is inferred, not without great appearance of probability, that the rest, amongst

whom is Luke, were not of the circumcision. Now can we discover any expression in the Acts of the Apostles, which ascertains whether the author of the book was a Jew or not? If we can discover that he was not a Jew, we fix a circumstance in his character, which coincides with what is here, indirectly indeed, but not very uncertainly, intimated concerning Luke: and we so far confirm both the testimony of the primitive church, that the Acts of the Apostles was written by St. Luke, and the general reality of the persons and circumstances brought together in this epistle. The text in the Acts, which has been construed to show that the writer was not a Jew, is the nineteenth verse of the first chapter, where, in describing the field which had been purchased with the reward of Judas's iniquity, it is said, "that it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called, in *their* proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, the field of blood." These words are by most commentators taken to be the words and observation of the historian, and not a part of St. Peter's speech, in the midst of which they are found. If this be admitted, then it is argued that the expression, "in *their* proper tongue," would not have been used by a Jew, but is suitable to the pen of a Gentile writing concerning Jews*. The reader will judge of the probability of this conclusion, and we urge the coincidence no further than that probability extends. The coincidence, if it be one, is so remote from all possibility of design, that nothing need be added to satisfy the reader upon that part of the argument.

* Vide Benson's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 318, of his works, ed. 1756.

No. IV.

Chap. iv. 9. "With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, *who is one of you.*"

Observe how it may be made out that Onesimus was a Colossian. Turn to the Epistle to Philemon, and you will find that Onesimus was the servant or slave of Philemon. The question therefore will be to what city Philemon belonged. In the epistle addressed to him this is not declared. It appears only that he was of the same place, whatever that place was, with an eminent Christian named Archippus. "Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved and fellow-labourer; and to our beloved Apphia, and *Archippus* our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house." Now turn back to the epistle to the Colossians, and you will find Archippus saluted by name amongst the Christians of that church. "Say to Archippus, take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord that thou fulfil it," (iv. 17). The necessary result is, that Onesimus also was of the same city, agreeably to what is said of him, "he is one of you." And this result is the effect, either of truth which produces consistency without the writer's thought or care, or of a contexture of forgeries confirming and falling in with one another by a species of fortuity of which I know no example. The supposition of design, I think, is excluded, not only because the purpose to which the design must have been directed, viz. the verification of the passage in our epistle, in which it is said concerning Onesimus, "he is one of you," is a purpose which would be lost upon ninety-nine readers out of a hundred; but because the means made use of are too circuitous to have been the subject of affectation and contrivance. Would a forger,

who had this purpose in view, have left his readers to hunt it out, by going forward and backward from one epistle to another, in order to connect Onesimus with Philemon, Philemon with Archippus, and Archippus with Colosse? all which he must do before he arrives at his discovery, that it was truly said of Onesimus, "he is one of you."

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

It is known to every reader of Scripture, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the coming of Christ in terms which indicate an expectation of his speedy appearance: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that *we* which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then *we which are alive and remain*, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief," (chap iv. 15, 16, 17. chap. v. 4.)

Whatever other construction these texts may *bear*, the idea they leave upon the mind of an ordinary reader, is that of the author of the epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it. Now the use which I make of this circumstance, is to deduce from it a proof that the epistle itself was not the production of a subsequent age. Would an impostor have given this

expectation to St. Paul, after experience had proved it to be erroneous? or would he have put into the apostle's mouth, or, which is the same thing, into writings purporting to come from his hand, expressions, if not necessarily conveying, at least easily interpreted to convey, an opinion which was then known to be founded in mistake? I state this as an argument to show that the epistle was contemporary with St. Paul, which is little less than to show that it actually proceeded from his pen. For I question whether any ancient forgeries were executed in the lifetime of the person whose name they bear; nor was the primitive situation of the church likely to give birth to such an attempt.

No. II.

Our epistle concludes with a direction, that it should be publickly read in the church to which it was addressed: "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." The existence of this clause in the body of the epistle is an evidence of its authenticity; because to produce a letter purporting to have been publickly read in the church of Thessalonica, when no such letter in truth had been read or heard of in that church, would be to produce an imposture destructive of itself. At least, it seems unlikely that the author of an imposture would voluntarily, and even officiously, afford a handle to so plain an objection. Either the epistle was publickly read in the church of Thessalonica during St. Paul's lifetime, or it was not. If it was, no publication could be more authentick, no species of notoriety more unquestionable, no method of preserving the integrity of the copy more secure. If it was not, the clause we produce would remain a standing condemnation of the forgery, and, one would suppose, an invincible impediment to its success.

If we connect this article with the preceding, we shall perceive that they combine into one strong proof of the genuineness of the epistle. The preceding article carries up the date of the epistle to the time of St. Paul; the present article fixes the publication of it to the church of Thessalonica. Either therefore the church of Thessalonica was imposed upon by a false epistle, which in St. Paul's lifetime they received and read publickly as his, carrying on a communication with him all the while, and the epistle referring to the continuance of that communication; or other Christian churches, in the same lifetime of the apostle, received an epistle purporting to have been publickly read in the church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that church; or lastly, the conclusion remains, that the epistle now in our hands is genuine.

No. III.

Between our epistle and the history the accordancy in many points is circumstantial and complete. The history relates, that, after Paul and Silas had been beaten with many stripes at Philippi, shut up in the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks, as soon as they were discharged from their confinement they departed from thence, and, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, where Paul opened and alleged that Jesus was the Christ, Acts xvi. 23, &c. The epistle written in the name of Paul and Sylvanus (Silas), and of Timotheus, who also appears to have been along with them at Philippi, (vide Phil. No. iv.) speaks to the church of Thessalonica thus: "Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention," (ii. 21).

The history relates, that after they had been some time at Thessalonica, "the Jews who believed not set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason where Paul and Silas were, and sought to bring them out to the people." Acts xvii. 5. The epistle declares, "when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even *as it came to pass, and ye know*," (iii. 4).

The history brings Paul and Silas and Timothy together at Corinth, soon after the preaching of the gospel at Thessalonica: "And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia (to Corinth), Paul was pressed in spirit." Acts xviii. 5. The epistle is written in the name of these three persons, who consequently must have been together at the time, and speaks throughout of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction: "We brethren, *being taken from you for a short time*, in presence not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face, with great desire," (ii. 17).

The harmony is indubitable; but the points of history in which it consists, are so expressly set forth in the narrative, and so directly referred to in the epistle, that it becomes necessary for us to show, that the facts in one writing were not copied from the other. Now amidst some minuter discrepancies, which will be noticed below, there is one circumstance which mixes itself with all the allusions in the epistle, but does not appear in the history any where; and that is of a visit which St. Paul had intended to pay to the Thessalonians during the time of his residing at Corinth: "Wherefore we would have come unto you (even I Paul) once and again, but Satan hindered us," (ii. 1.) "Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith. Now God himself and our father, and our Lord Jesus Christ,

direct our way unto you," (iii. 10, 11). Concerning a design which was not executed, although the person himself, who was conscious of his own purpose, should make mention in his letters, nothing is more probable than that his historian should be silent, if not ignorant. The author of the epistle could not however have learnt this circumstance from the history, for it is not there to be met with; nor, if the historian had drawn his materials from the epistle, is it likely that he would have passed over a circumstance, which is amongst the most obvious and prominent of the facts to be collected from that source of information.

No. IV.

Chap. iii. 1—7. "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good *to be left at Athens alone*, and sent Timotheus, our brother and minister of God, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith;—but now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith."

The history relates, that when Paul came out of Macedonia to Athens, Silas and Timothy staid behind at Berea: "The brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea; but Silas and Timotheus abode there still; and they that conducted Paul brought him to Athens." Acts, ch. xvii. 14, 15. The history further relates, that after Paul had tarried some time at Athens, and had proceeded from thence to Corinth, whilst he was exercising his ministry in that city, Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia, Acts, chap. xviii. 5. But to reconcile the history with the clause in the epistle which makes St. Paul say, "I thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and to send Timothy

unto you," it is necessary to suppose that Timothy had come up with St. Paul at Athens: a circumstance which the history does not mention. I remark therefore, that, although the history do not expressly notice this arrival, yet it contains intimations which render it extremely probable that the fact took place. First, as soon as Paul had reached Athens, he sent a message back to Silas and Timothy "for to come to him with all speed." Acts, chap. xvii. 15. Secondly, his stay at Athens was on purpose that they might join him there: "Now whilst Paul *waited for them at Athens*, his spirit was stirred in him." Acts, chap. xvii. 16. Thirdly, his departure from Athens does not appear to have been in any sort hastened or abrupt. It is said, "after these things," viz. his disputation with the Jews, his conferences with the philosophers, his discourse at Areopagus, and the gaining of some converts, "he departed from Athens and came to Corinth." It is not hinted that he quitted Athens before the time that he had intended to leave it; it is not suggested that he was driven from thence, as he was from many cities, by tumults or persecutions, or because his life was no longer safe. Observe then the particulars which the history *does* notice—that Paul had ordered Timothy to follow him without delay, that he waited at Athens on purpose that Timothy might come up with him, that he staid there as long as his own choice led him to continue. Laying these circumstances which the history does disclose together, it is highly probable that Timothy came to the apostle at Athens, a fact which the epistle, we have seen, virtually asserts when it makes Paul send Timothy back from Athens to Thessalonica. The *sending back of Timothy into Macedonia* accounts also for his not coming to Corinth till after Paul had been fixed in that city for some considerable time.

Paul had found out Aquila and Priscilla, abode with them and wrought, being of the same craft; and reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath day, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks, Acts, chap. xviii. 1—5. All this passed at Corinth before Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Acts, chap. xviii. 5. If this was the first time of their coming up with him after their separation at Berea, there is nothing to account for a delay so contrary to what appears from the history itself to have been St. Paul's plan and expectation. This is a conformity of a peculiar species. The epistle discloses a fact which is not preserved in the history; but which makes what is said in the history more significant, probable, and consistent. The history bears marks of an omission; the epistle by reference furnishes a circumstance which supplies that omission.

No. V.

Chap. ii. 14. "For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus; for ye also have suffered like things *of your own countrymen*, even as they have of the Jews."

To a reader of the Acts of the Apostles, it might seem, at first sight, that the persecutions which the preachers and converts of Christianity underwent, were suffered at the hands of their old adversaries the Jews. But, if we attend carefully to the accounts there delivered, we shall observe, that, though the opposition made to the gospel usually *originated* from the enmity of the Jews, yet in almost all places the Jews went about to accomplish their purpose, by stirring up the Gentile inhabitants against their converted countrymen. Out of Judea they had not power to do much mischief in any other way. This was the case at Thessalonica in particular: "The Jews which believed not, moved with envy, set all the city in an uproar." Acts, ch.

xvii. ver. 5. It was the same a short time afterwards at Berea: "When the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people." Acts. ch. xvii. 13. And before this our apostle had met with a like species of persecution, in his progress through the Lesser Asia; "in every city the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren." Acts. ch. xiv. 2. The epistle therefore represents the case accurately as the history states it. It was the Jews always who set on foot the persecutions against the apostles and their followers. He speaks truly therefore of them, when he says in this epistle, "they both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have *persecuted us*—forbidding us to speak unto the Gentiles." (ii. 15, 16.) But out of Judea it was at the hands of the Gentiles, it was "of their own countrymen," that the injuries they underwent were immediately sustained: "Ye have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews."

No. VI.

The apparent discrepancies between our epistle and the history, though of magnitude sufficient to repel the imputation of confederacy or transcription (in which view they form a part of our argument), are neither numerous, nor very difficult to reconcile.

One of these may be observed in the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter: "For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travel; for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe." A person

who reads this passage is naturally led by it to suppose, that the writer had dwelt at Thessalonica for some considerable time; yet of St. Paul's ministry in that city, the history gives no other account than the following: "that he came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: that, as his manner was, he went in unto them, and *three sabbath days* reasoned with them out of the Scriptures; that some of them believed and consorted with Paul and Silas." The history then proceeds to tell us, that the Jews which believed not set the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, where Paul and his companions lodged; that the consequence of this outrage was, that "the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea." Acts, ch. xvii. 1—10. From the mention of his preaching three sabbath days in the Jewish synagogue, and from the want of any further specification of his ministry, it has usually been taken for granted that Paul did not continue at Thessalonica more than three weeks. This, however, is inferred without necessity. It appears to have been St. Paul's practice, in almost every place that he came to, upon his first arrival to repair to the synagogue. He thought himself bound to propose the gospel to the Jews *first*, agreeably to what he declared at Antioch in Pisidia; "it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you." Acts, ch. xiii. 46. If the Jews rejected his ministry, he quitted the synagogue, and betook himself to a Gentile audience. At Corinth, upon his first coming thither, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath; "but when the Jews opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he departed thence," expressly telling them, "from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles; and he remained in that city a year and six months." Acts, ch. xviii. 6—11. At Ephesus, in like manner, for the space of three months he went into the synagogue; but "when divers were harden-

ed and believed not, but spake evil of that way, he departed from them and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus; and this continued by the space of two years." Acts, ch. xix. 9, 10. Upon inspecting the history, I see nothing in it which negatives the supposition, that St. Paul pursued the same plan at Thessalonica which he adopted in other places; and that, though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city, and in the exercise of his ministry amongst the Gentile citizens, much longer; and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.

Another seeming discrepancy is found in the ninth verse of the first chapter of the epistle: "For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how *ye turned to God from idols* to serve the living and true God." This text contains an assertion, that, by means of St. Paul's ministry at Thessalonica, many idolatrous Gentiles had been brought over to Christianity. Yet the history, in describing the effects of that ministry, only says, that "some of the Jews believed, and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few." (ch. xvii. 4.) The devout Greeks were those who already worshipped the one true God; and therefore could not be said, by embracing Christianity, "to be turned to God from idols."

This is the difficulty. The answer may be assisted by the following observations: The Alexandrian and Cambridge manuscripts read (for *των σεβομενων ἑλληνων πολυ πληθος*) *των σεβομενων και ἑλληνων πολυ πληθος*. In which reading they are also confirmed by the Vulgate Latin. And this reading is, in my opinion, strongly supported by the considerations, first, that *οἱ σεβομενοι* alone, i. e. without *ἑλληνες*, is used in this sense in this same chapter—Paul being come to Athens

διελεγετο εν τη συναγωγη τοις Ιουδαιοις και τοις σεβομενοις: secondly, that σεβομενοι and ἑλληνες no where come together. The expression is redundant. The οἱ σεβομενοι must be ἑλληνες. Thirdly, that the και is much more likely to have been left out, incuriâ manûs, than to have been put in. Or, after all, if we be not allowed to change the present reading, which is undoubtedly retained by a great plurality of copies, may not the passage in the history be considered as describing only the effects of St. Paul's discourses during the three sabbath days in which he preached in the synagogue? and may it not be true, as we have remarked above, that his application to the Gentiles at large, and his success amongst them, was posteriour to this?

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

It may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing, from that which is usually considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present epistle, however, furnishes a passage, hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can only be accounted for upon the supposition of the epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for with great ease. The passage which I allude to is found in the second chapter: "That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of

God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not that WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? *And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time;* for the mystery of iniquity doth already work, *only he that now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way;* and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." It were superfluous to prove, because it is in vain to deny, that this passage is involved in great obscurity, more especially the clauses distinguished by Italicks. Now the observation I have to offer is founded upon this, that the passage expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon the same subject: "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you *I told you these things? And now ye know* what withholdeth." If such conversation actually passed; if, whilst he was yet with them, "he *told* them those things," then it follows that the epistle is authentick. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what it said in the epistle might be understood by those who had been present to such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen, that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger, who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be perfectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if, in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained with-

out knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons.

No. II.

Chap. iii. 8. "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought with labour night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow."

In a letter, purporting to have been written to another of the Macedonick churches, we find the following declaration:

"Now ye, Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, *no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.*"

The conformity between these two passages is strong and plain. They confine the transaction to the same period. The epistle to the Philippians refers to what passed "in the beginning of the gospel," that is to say, during the first preaching of the gospel on that side of the Ægean sea. The epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the apostle's conduct in that city upon "his first entrance in unto them," which the history informs us was in the course of his first visit to the peninsula of Greece.

As St. Paul tells the Philippians, "that no church communicated with him, as concerning giving and receiving, but they only," he could not, consistently with the truth of this declaration, have received any thing from the neighbouring church of Thessalonica. What thus appears by general implication in an epistle to another church, when he writes to the Thessalonians themselves, is noticed expressly

and particularly: "neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you."

The texts here cited further also exhibit a mark of conformity with what St. Paul is made to say of himself in the Acts of the apostles. The apostle not only reminds the Thessalonians that he had not been chargeable to any of them, but he states likewise the motive which dictated this reserve: "nót because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us." (ch. iii. 9.) This conduct and, what is much more precise, the end which he had in view by it, was the very same as that which the history attributes to St. Paul in a discourse, which it represents him to have addressed to the elders of the church of Ephesus. "Yea, ye yourselves also know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have *showed* you all things, how *that so labouring ye ought to support the weak.*" Acts, ch. xx. 34. The sentiment in the epistle and in the speech is in both parts of it so much alike, and yet the words which convey it show so little of imitation or even of resemblance, that the agreement cannot well be explained without supposing the speech and the letter to have really proceeded from the same person.

No. III.

Our reader remembers the passage in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which St. Paul spoke of the coming of Christ: "This we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep; for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds,

and so shall we be ever with the Lord.—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, and ch. v. 4. It should seem that the Thessalonians, or some however amongst them, had from this passage conceived an opinion (and that not very unnaturally) that the coming of Christ was to take place instantly, ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν*; and that this persuasion had produced, as it well might, mucl agitation in the church. The apostle therefore now writes, amongst other purposes, to quiet this alarm, and to rectify the misconstruction that had been put upon his words: "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled neither by spirit, nor by word, *nor by letter as from us*, as that the day of Christ is at hand." If the allusion which we contend for be admitted, namely, if it be admitted, that the passage in the second epistle relates to the passage in the first, it amounts to a considerable proof of the genuineness of both epistles. I have no conception, because I know no example, of such a device in a forgery, as first to frame an ambiguous passage in a letter, then to represent the persons to whom the letter is addressed as mistaking the meaning of the passage, and lastly, to write a second letter in order to correct this mistake.

I have said that this argument arises out of the text, *if* the allusion be admitted: for I am not ignorant that many expositors understand the passage in the second epistle, as referring to some forged letters, which had been produced in St. Paul's name, and in which the apostle had been made to say that the coming of Christ was then at hand. In de-

* Ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν, nempe hoc anno, says Grotius, ἐνέστηκεν hic dicitur de re præsenti, ut Rom. viii. 38. 1 Cor. iii. 22, Gal. i. 4. Heb. ix. 9.

fence, however, of the explanation which we propose, the reader is desired to observe,

1. The strong fact, that there exists a passage in the first epistle, to which that in the second is capable of being referred, i. e. which accounts for the errour the writer is solicitous to remove. Had no other epistle than the second been extant, and had it under these circumstances come to be considered, whether the text before us related to a forged epistle or to some misconstruction of a true one, many conjectures and many probabilities might have been admitted in the inquiry, which can have little weight when an epistle is produced, containing the very sort of passage we were seeking, that is, a passage liable to the misinterpretation which the apostle protests against.

2. That the clause which introduces the passage in the second epistle bears a particular affinity to what is found in the passage cited from the first epistle. The clause is this: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *by our gathering together unto him.*" Now in the first epistle the description of the coming of Christ is accompanied with the mention of this very circumstance of his saints "being collected round him." "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, *to meet the Lord* in the air." 1 Thess. chap. iv. 16, 17. This I suppose to be the "gathering together unto him" intended in the second epistle; and that the author, when he used these words, retained in his thoughts what he had written on the subject before.

3. The second epistle is written in the joint name of Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus, and it cautions the Thessalonians

against being misled "by letter as from us" (ὡς δι' ἡμων). Do not these words 'δι' ἡμων,' appropriate the reference to some writing which bore the name of these three teachers? Now this circumstance, which is a very close one, belongs to the epistle at present in our hands; for the epistle which we call the First Epistle to the Thessalonians contains these names in its superscription.

4. The words in the original, as far as they are material to be stated, are these: εις το μη ταχεως σαλευθηναι ὑμας απο τυ νος, μητε θροεισθαι, μητε δια πνευματος, μητε δια λογυ, μητε δι' επιστολης, ὡς δι' ἡμων, ὡς ὁτι ενεστηκεν ἡ ἡμερα τυ Χριστυ. Under the weight of the preceding observations may not the words μητε δια λογυ, μητε δι' επιστολης, ὡς δι' ἡμων, be construed to signify *quasi nos quid tale aut dixerimus aut scripserimus**, intimating that their words had been mistaken, and that they had in truth said or written no such thing.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

From the third verse of the first chapter, "as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," it is evident that this Epistle was written soon after St. Paul had gone to Macedonia from Ephesus. Dr. Benson fixes its date to the time of St. Paul's journey, record-

* Should a contrary interpretation be preferred, I do not think that it implies the conclusion that a false epistle had then been published in the apostle's name. It will completely satisfy the allusion in the text to allow, that some one or other at Thessalonica had pretended to have been told by St. Paul and his companions, or to have seen a letter from them, in which they had said, that the day of Christ was at hand. In

ed in the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And after the uproar (excited by Demetrius at Ephesus) was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." And in this opinion Dr. Benson is followed by Michaelis, as he was preceded by the greater part of the commentators who have considered the question. There is, however, one objection to the hypothesis, which these learned men appear to me to have overlooked; and it is no other than this, that the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians seems to prove, that at the time St. Paul is supposed by them to have written this Epistle to Timothy, Timothy in truth was with St. Paul in Macedonia. Paul, as it is related in the Acts, left Ephesus "for to go into Macedonia." When he had got into Macedonia he wrote his Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Concerning this point there exists little variety of opinion. It is plainly indicated by the contents of the epistle. It is also strongly implied that the epistle was written *soon* after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia; for he begins his letter by a train of reflection, referring to his persecutions in Asia as to recent transactions, as to dangers from which he had lately been delivered. But in the salutation with which the epistle opens, *Timothy is joined with St. Paul*, and consequently could not at that time be "left behind at Ephesus." And as to the only solution of the difficulty which can be thought

like manner as Acts xv. 1, 24. it is recorded that some had pretended to have received instructions from the church at Jerusalem, which had not been received "to whom they gave no such commandment." And thus Dr. Benson interpreted the passage μητε θροεισθαι, μητε δια πνευματος, μητε δια λογου, μητε δι' επιστολης, ὡς δι' ἡμων, "nor be dismayed by any revelation, or discourse, or epistle, which any one shall pretend to have heard or received from us."

of, viz. that Timothy, though he was left behind at Ephesus upon St. Paul's departure from Asia, yet might follow him so soon after, as to come up with the apostle in Macedonia, before he wrote his epistle to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenour of the epistle throughout. For the writer speaks uniformly of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, and not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia: "These things write I unto thee *hoping to come unto thee shortly;* but if I tarry long that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself," (chap. iii. 14, 15.) *Till I come* give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," (chap. iv. 13.)

Since, therefore, the leaving of Timothy behind at Ephesus, when Paul went into Macedonia, suits not with any journey into Macedonia recorded in the Acts, I concur with Bishop Pearson in placing the date of this epistle, and the journey referred to in it, at a period subsequent to St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, and consequently subsequent to the æra, up to which the Acts of the Apostles brings his history. The only difficulty which attends our opinion is, that St. Paul must, according to us, have come to Epheaus after his liberation at Rome, contrary as it should seem to what he foretold to the Ephesian elders, "that they should see his face no more." And it is to save the infallibility of this prediction, and for no other reason of weight, that an earlier date is assigned to this epistle. The prediction itself however, when considered in connexion with the circumstances under which it was delivered, does not seem to demand so much anxiety. The words in question are found in the twenty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And now behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the king-

dom of God, shall see my face no more." In the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the same chapter, i. e. two verses before, the apostle makes this declaration: "And now behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befal me there; save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me." This "witnessing of the Holy Ghost" was undoubtedly prophetick and supernatural. But it went no further than to foretel that bonds and afflictions awaited him. And I can very well conceive, that this might be all which was communicated to the apostle by extraordinary revelation, and that the rest was the conclusion of his own mind, the desponding inference which he drew from strong and repeated intimations of approaching danger. And the expression "I know," which St. Paul here uses, does not perhaps, when applied to future events affecting himself, convey an assertion so positive and absolute as we may at first sight apprehend. In the first chapter of the epistle to the Philippians and the twenty-fifth verse, "I know," says he, "that I shall abide and continue with you all for your joy and furtherance of faith." Notwithstanding this strong declaration, in the second chapter and twenty-third verse of this same epistle, and speaking also of the very same event, he is content to use a language of some doubt and uncertainty: "Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon *as I shall see how it will go with me;* but *I trust* in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." And a few verses preceding these, he not only seems to doubt of his safety, but almost to despair; to contemplate the possibility at least of his condemnation and martyrdom: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.

No. I.

But can we show that St. Paul visited Ephesus after his liberation at Rome? or rather, can we collect any hints from his other letters which make it probable that he did? If we can, then we have a *coincidence*. If we cannot, we have only an unauthorized supposition, to which the exigency of the case compels us to resort. Now, for this purpose, let us examine the Epistle to the Philippians and the Epistle to Philemon. These two epistles purport to be written whilst St. Paul was yet a prisoner at Rome. To the Philippians he writes as follows: "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." To Philemon, who was a Colossian, he gives this direction: "But withal, prepare me also a lodging, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." An inspection of the map will show us that Colosse was a city of the Lesser Asia, lying eastward, and at no great distance from Ephesus. Philippi was on the other, i. e. the western side of the Ægean sea. If the apostle executed his purpose; if, in pursuance of the intention expressed in his letter to Philemon, he came to Colosse soon after he was set at liberty at Rome, it is very improbable that he would omit to visit Ephesus, which lay so near to it, and where he had spent three years of his ministry. As he was also under a promise to the church of Philippi to see them "shortly;" if he passed from Colosse to Philippi, or from Philippi to Colosse, he could hardly avoid taking Ephesus in his way.

No. II.

Chap. v. 9. "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old."

This accords with the account delivered in the sixth chapter of the Acts. "And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, *because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration.*" It appears that from the first formation of the Christian church, provision was made out of the publick funds of the society for the indigent *widows* who belonged to it. The history, we have seen, distinctly records the existence of such an institution at Jerusalem, a few years after our Lord's ascension; and is led to the mention of it very incidentally, viz. by a dispute, of which it was the occasion, and which produced important consequences to the Christian community. The epistle, without being suspected of borrowing from the history, refers, briefly indeed, but decisively, to a similar establishment, subsisting some years afterwards at Ephesus. This agreement indicates that both writings were founded upon real circumstances.

But, in this article, the material thing to be noticed is the mode of expression; "Let not a widow be taken into the number." No previous account or explanation is given, to which these words, "into the number," can refer; but the direction comes concisely and unpreparedly. "Let not a widow be taken into the number." Now this is the way in which a man writes, who is conscious that he is writing to persons already acquainted with the subject of his letter; and who, he knows, will readily apprehend and apply what he says by virtue of their being so acquainted; but it is not the way in which a man writes upon any other occasion; and least of all, in which a man would draw up a feigned letter, or introduce a supposititious fact*.

* It is not altogether unconnected with our general purpose to remark, in the passage before us, the selection and reserve which St. Paul recom-

No. III.

Chap. iii. 2, 3. "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house."

"*No striker:*" That is the article which I single out from the collection as evincing the antiquity at least, if not the genuineness, of the epistle, because it is an article which no man would have made the subject of caution who lived in an advanced era of the church. It agreed with the in-

mends to the governours of the church of Ephesus, in the bestowing relief upon the poor, because it refutes a calumny which has been insinuated, that the liberality of the first Christians was an artifice to catch converts; or one of the temptations, however, by which the idle and mendicant were drawn into this society: "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for her good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work: but the younger widows refuse." (v. 9, 10, 11). And, in another place, "If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged, that it may relieve them that are widows indeed." And to the same effect, or rather more to our present purpose, the apostle writes in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians: "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither let him eat," i. e. at the publick expense. "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, *working not at all*, but are busy bodies; now them that are such, we command and exhort, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." Could a designing or dissolute poor take advantage of bounty regulated with so much caution; or could the mind which dictated those sober and prudent directions be influenced in his recommendations of publick charity by any other than the purest motives of beneficence?

fancy of the society, and with no other state of it. After the government of the church had acquired the dignified form which it soon and naturally assumed, this injunction could have no place. Would a person who lived under a hierarchy, such as the Christian hierarchy became when it had settled into a regular establishment, have thought it necessary to prescribe concerning the qualification of a bishop, "that he should be no striker?" And this injunction would be equally alien from the imagination of the writer, whether he wrote in his own character, or personated that of an apostle.

No. IV.

Chap. v. 23. "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities."

Imagine an impostor sitting down to forge an epistle in the name of St. Paul. Is it credible that it should come into his head to give such a direction as this; so remote from every thing of doctrine or discipline, every thing of publick concern to the religion or the church, or to any sect, order, or party in it, and from every purpose with which such an epistle could be written? It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestick a nature.

But if the peculiarity of the advice be observable, the place in which it stands is more so. The context is this; "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins; keep thyself pure: drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities: some men's sins are open before hand, going before to judgment: and some men they follow after." The direction to Timothy about his diet stands between

two sentences, as wide from the subject as possible. The train of thought seems to be broken to let it in. Now when does this happen? It happens when a man writes as he remembers; when he puts down an article that occurs the moment it occurs, lest he should afterwards forget it. Of this the passage before us bears strongly the appearance. In actual letters, in the negligence of a real correspondence, examples of this kind frequently take place; seldom I believe in any other production. For the moment a man regards what he writes as a *composition*, which the author of a forgery would, of all others, be the first to do, notions of order, in the arrangement and succession of his thoughts, present themselves to his judgment, and guide his pen.

No. V.

Chap. i. 15, 16. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe in him to life everlasting."

What was the mercy which St. Paul here commemorates, and what was the crime of which he accuses himself, is apparent from the verses immediately preceding: "I thank Christ Jesus, our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry, *who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor and injurious;* but I obtained *mercy*, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief," (chap. i. 12, 13.) The whole quotation plainly refers to St. Paul's original enmity to the Christian name, the interposition of providence in his conversion, and his subsequent designation to the ministry of the gospel; and by this reference affirms indeed the substance of the apostle's

during the same imprisonment in which the Epistles to the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon, were written, may be gathered, with considerable evidence, from a comparison of these several epistles with the present.

I. In the former epistles the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians (ch. ii. 24.) "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you" (ver. 22). In the epistle before us he holds a language extremely different: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day" (ch. iv. 6—8).

II. When the former epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with St. Paul; and is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present epistle implies that he was absent.

III. In the former epistles Demas was with St. Paul at Rome: "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you." In the epistle now before us; "Demas hath forsaken him, having loved this present world, and is gone to Thessalonica."

IV. In the former epistle, Mark was with St. Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present epistle, Timothy is ordered to "bring him with him, for he is profitable to me for the ministry" (ch. iv. 11).

The case of Timothy and of Mark might be very well accounted for, by supposing the present epistle to have been written *before* the others; so that Timothy, who is here exhorted "to come shortly unto him" (chap. iv. 9), might

have arrived, and that Mark, "whom he was to bring with him," (chap. iv. 11), might have also reached Rome in sufficient time to have been with St. Paul when the four epistles were written: but then such a supposition is inconsistent with what is said of Demas, by which the posteriority of this to the other epistles is strongly indicated: for in the other epistles Demas was with St. Paul, in the present he hath "forsaken him, and is gone to Thessalonica." The opposition also of sentiment, with respect to the event of the persecution, is hardly reconcileable to the same imprisonment.

The two following considerations, which were first suggested upon this question by Ludovicus Capellus, are still more conclusive.

1. In the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter, St. Paul informs Timothy, "that Erastus abode at Corinth," Εραστος εμεινεν εν Κορινθῳ. The form of expression implies, that Erastus had staid behind at Corinth, when St. Paul left it. But this could not be meant of any journey from Corinth which St. Paul took prior to his first imprisonment at Rome; for when Paul departed from Corinth, as related in the twentieth chapter of the Acts, Timothy was with him: and this was the last time the apostle left Corinth before his coming to Rome; because he left it to proceed on his way to Jerusalem, soon after his arrival at which place he was taken into custody, and continued in that custody till he was carried to Cæsar's tribunal. There could be no need therefore to inform Timothy that "Erastus staid behind at Corinth" upon this occasion, because, if the fact was so, it must have been known to Timothy who was present, as well as to St. Paul.

2. In the same verse our epistle also states the following article: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." When St. Paul passed through Miletum on his way to Jerusalem,

as related Acts xx., Trophimus was not left behind, but accompanied him to that city. He was indeed the occasion of the uproar at Jerusalem, in consequence of which St. Paul was apprehended; for "they had seen," says the historian, "before with him in the city, Trophimus, an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple." This was evidently the last time of Paul's being at Miletus before his first imprisonment; for, as hath been said, after his apprehension at Jerusalem, he remained in custody till he was sent to Rome.

In these two articles we have a journey referred to, which must have taken place subsequent to the conclusion of St. Luke's history, and of course after St. Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment. The epistle therefore which contains this reference, since it appears from other parts of it to have been written while St. Paul was a prisoner at Rome, proves that he had returned to that city again and undergone there a second imprisonment.

I do not produce these particulars for the sake of the support which they lend to the testimony of the fathers concerning St. Paul's *second* imprisonment, but to remark their consistency and agreement with one another. They are all resolvable into one supposition: and although the supposition itself be in some sort only negative, viz. that the epistle was not written during St. Paul's first residence at Rome, but in some future imprisonment in that city; yet is the consistency not less worthy of observation; for the epistle touches upon names and circumstances connected with the date and with the history of the first imprisonment, and mentioned in letters written during that imprisonment, and so touches upon them, as to leave what is said of one consistent with what is said of others, and consistent also with what is said of them in different epistles. Had one of these circumstances been so described as to

have fixed the date of the epistle to the first imprisonment, it would have involved the rest in contradiction. And when the number and particularity of the articles which have been brought together under this head are considered; and when it is considered also, that the comparisons we have formed amongst them, were in all probability neither provided for, nor thought of, by the writer of the epistle, it will be deemed something very like the effect of truth, that no invincible repugnancy is perceived between them.

No. II.

In the Acts of the Apostles, in the sixteenth chapter, and at the first verse, we are told that Paul "came to Derbe and Lystra, and behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek." In the epistle before us, in the first chapter and at the fifth verse, St. Paul writes to Timothy thus: "Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy, when I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, *and thy mother Eunice;* and I am persuaded that in thee also." Here we have a fair unforced example of coincidence. In the history Timothy was the "son of a Jewess *that* believed:" in the epistle St. Paul applauds "the *faith* which dwelt in his mother Eunice." In the history it is said of the mother, "that she was a Jewess, and believed;" of the father, "that he was a Greek." Now when it is said of the mother *alone* "that she believed," the father being nevertheless mentioned in the same sentence, we are led to suppose of the father that he did not believe, i. e. either that he was dead, or that he remained unconverted. Agreeably hereunto, whilst praise is bestowed in the epistle upon one parent, and upon her sincerity in the faith, no

notice is taken of the other. The mention of the grandmother is the addition of a circumstance not found in the history; but it is a circumstance which, as well as the names of the parties, might naturally be expected to be known to the apostle, though overlooked by his historian.

No. III.

Chap. iii. 15. "And that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation."

This verse discloses a circumstance which agrees exactly with what is intimated in the quotation from the Acts, adduced in the last number. In that quotation it is recorded of Timothy's mother, "that she was a Jewess." This description is virtually, though, I am satisfied, undesignedly, recognized in the epistle, when Timothy is reminded in it, "that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures." "The Holy Scriptures" undoubtedly meant the scriptures of the Old Testament. The expression bears that sense in every place in which it occurs. Those of the New had not yet acquired the name, not to mention, that in Timothy's childhood, probably none of them existed. In what manner then could Timothy have known, "from a child," the Jewish scriptures, had he not been born, on one side or on both, of Jewish parentage? Perhaps he was not less likely to be carefully instructed in them, for that his mother alone professed that religion.

No. IV.

Chap. ii. 22. "Flee also *youthful* lusts, but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart."

"*Flee also youthful lusts.*" The suitableness of this precept to the age of the person to whom it is addressed, is

gathered from 1 Tim. chap. iv. 12; "Let no man despise thy youth." Nor do I deem the less of this coincidence, because the propriety resides in a single epithet; or because this one precept is joined with, and followed by, a train of others, not more applicable to Timothy than to an ordinary convert. It is in these transient and cursory allusions that the argument is best founded. When a writer dwells and rests upon a point in which some coincidence is discerned, it may be doubted whether he himself had not fabricated the conformity, and was endeavouring to display and set it off. But when the reference is contained in a single word, unobserved perhaps by most readers, the writer passing on to other subjects, as unconscious that he had hit upon a correspondency, or unsolicitous whether it were remarked or not, we may be pretty well assured that no fraud was exercised, no imposition intended.

No. V.

Chap. iii. 10, 11. "But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me *at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra;* what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me."

The Antioch here mentioned was not Antioch the capital of Syria, where Paul and Barnabas resided "a long time;" but Antioch in Pisidia, to which place Paul and Barnabas came in their first apostolick progress, and where Paul delivered a memorable discourse, which is preserved in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. At this Antioch the history relates, that "the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, *and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas*, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto *Iconium* . . . . And

it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed; but the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected, against the brethren. Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the city was divided; and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews, with their rulers, *to use them despitefully and to stone* them, they were aware of it, and fled unto *Lystra* and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about, and there they preached the gospel . . . . And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and came into the city; and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe: and when they had preached the gospel in that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antioch." This account comprises the period to which the allusion in the epistle is to be referred. We have so far therefore a conformity between the history and the epistle, that St. Paul is asserted in the history to have suffered persecutions in the three cities, his persecutions at which are appealed to in the epistle; and not only so, but to have suffered these persecutions both in immediate succession, and in the order in which the cities are mentioned in the epistle. The conformity also extends to another circumstance. In the apostolick history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together: in the quotation from the epistle Lystra is mentioned, and not Derbe.

And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions: and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to Derbe, at Derbe itself he met with none: "The next day he departed," says the historian, "to Derbe; and when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra." The epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history.

But a second question remains, namely, how these persecutions were "known" to Timothy, or why the apostle should recal these in particular to his remembrance, rather than many other persecutions with which his ministry had been attended. When some time, probably three years, afterwards (*vide* Pearson's Annales Paulinas,) St. Paul made a second journey through the same country, "in order to go again and visit the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord," we read, Acts, chap. xvi. 1. that "when he came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus." One or other therefore of these cities was the place of Timothy's abode. We read moreover that he was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium; so that he must have been well acquainted with these places. Also again, when Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, Timothy was already a disciple: "Behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus." He must therefore have been converted *before*. But since it is expressly stated in the epistle, that Timothy was converted by St. Paul himself, that he was "his own son in the faith:" it follows, that he must have been converted by him upon his

former journey into those parts; which was the very time when the apostle underwent the persecutions referred to in the epistle. Upon the whole, then, persecutions at the several cities named in the epistle are expressly recorded in the Acts; and Timothy's knowledge of this part of St. Paul's history, which knowledge is appealed to in the epistle, is fairly deduced from the place of his abode, and the time of his conversion. It may further be observed, that it is probable from this account, that St. Paul was in the midst of these persecutions when Timothy became known to him. No wonder then that the apostle, though in a letter written long afterwards, should remind his favourite convert of those scenes of affliction and distress under which they first met.

Although this coincidence, as to the names of the cities, be more specifick and direct than many which we have pointed out, yet I apprehend there is no just reason for thinking it to be artificial; for had the writer of the epistle sought a coincidence with the history upon this head, and searched the Acts of the Apostles for the purpose, I conceive he would have sent us at once to Philippi and Thessalonica, where Paul suffered persecution, and where from what is stated, it may easily be gathered that Timothy accompanied him, rather than have appealed to persecutions as known to Timothy, in the account of which persecutions Timothy's presence is not mentioned; it not being till after one entire chapter, and in the history of a journey three years future to this, that Timothy's name occurs in the Acts of the Apostles for the first time.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

No. I.

A VERY characteristick circumstance in this Epistle, is the quotation from Epimenides, chap. i. 12: "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, the Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

Κρῆτες αἰεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

I call this quotation characteristick, because no writer in the New Testament, except St. Paul, appealed to heathen testimony; and because St. Paul repeatedly did so. In his celebrated speech at Athens, preserved in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts, he tells his audience, that "in God we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are also his offspring."

—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

The reader will perceive much similarity of manner in these two passages. The reference in the speech is to a heathen poet; it is the same in the epistle. In the speech the apostle urges his hearers with the authority of a poet *of their own;* in the epistle he avails himself of the same advantage. Yet there is a variation, which shows that the hint of inserting a quotation in the epistle was not, as it may be suspected, borrowed from seeing the like practice attributed to St. Paul in the history; and it is this, that in the epistle the author cited is called a *prophet*, "one of themselves, even a *prophet* of their own." Whatever might

be the reason for calling Epimenides a prophet; whether the names of poet and prophet were occasionally convertible; whether Epimenides in particular had obtained that title, as Grotius seems to have proved; or whether the appellation was given to him, in this instance, as having delivered a description of the Cretan character, which the future state of morals among them verified; whatever was the reason (and any of these reasons will account for the variation, supposing St. Paul to have been the author), one point is plain, namely, if the epistle had been forged, and the author had inserted a quotation in it merely from having seen an example of the same kind in a speech ascribed to St Paul, he would so far have imitated his original, as to have introduced his quotation in the same manner, that is, he would have given to Epimenides the title which he saw there given to Aratus. The other side of the alternative is, that the history took the hint from the epistle. But that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had not the epistle to Titus before him, at least that he did not use it as one of the documents or materials of his narrative is rendered nearly certain by the observation, that the name of Titus does not once occur in his book.

It is well known, and was remarked by St. Jerome, that the apophthegm in the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians, "evil communications corrupt good manners," is an Iambick of Menander's:

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί.

Here we have another unaffected instance of the same turn and habit of composition. Probably there are some hitherto unnoticed; and more, which the loss of the original authors renders impossible to be now ascertained.

No. II.

There exists a visible affinity between the Epistle to Titus and the First Epistle to Timothy. Both letters were addressed to persons left by the writer to preside in their respective churches during his absence. Both letters are principally occupied in describing the qualifications to be sought for, in those whom they should appoint to offices in the church; and the ingredients of this description are in both letters nearly the same. Timothy and Titus are likewise cautioned against the same prevailing corruptions, and, in particular, against the same misdirection of their cares and studies. This affinity obtains, not only in the subject of the letters, which, from the similarity of situation in the persons to whom they were addressed, might be expected to be somewhat alike, but extends, in a great variety of instances, to the phrases and expressions. The writer accosts his two friends with the same salutation, and passes on to the business of his letter by the same transition.

"Unto Timothy, *my own son in the faith*, grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord: *as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia*," &c. 1 Tim. chap, i. 2, 3.

"To Titus, *mine own son after the common faith*, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour; *for this cause left I thee in Crete*." Tit. chap. i. 4, 5.

If Timothy was "not to *give heed to fables* and endless *genealogies*, which minister *questions*," 1 Tim. chap. i. 4; Titus also was to "avoid foolish *questions* and *genealogies*, and contentions," (chap. iii. 9); "and was to rebuke them sharply, *not giving heed to Jewish fables*" (chap. i. 14). If Timothy was to be a pattern (τυπος), 1 Tim. chap. iv. 12;

so was Titus, (chap. ii. 7). If Timothy was to "let no man despise his youth," 1 Tim. chap. iv. 12. Titus also was to "let no man despise him" (chap. ii. 15). This verbal consent is also observable in some very peculiar expressions, which have no relation to the particular character of Timothy or Titus.

The phrase, "it is a faithful saying," (πιστος ὁ λογος), made use of to preface some sentence upon which the writer lays a more than ordinary stress, occurs three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, once in the Second, and once in the epistle before us, and in no other part of St. Paul's writings; and it is remarkable that these three epistles were probably all written towards the conclusion of his life; and that they are the only epistles which were written after his first imprisonment at Rome.

The same observation belongs to another singularity of expression, and that is in the epithet "*sound*," (ὑγιαινων), as applied to words or doctrine. It is thus used, twice in the First Epistle to Timothy, twice in the Second, and three times in the Epistle to Titus, beside two cognate expressions, ὑγιαινοντας τῃ πιστει and λογον ὑγιη, and it is found, in the same sense, in no other part of the New Testament.

The phrase "God our Saviour" stands in nearly the same predicament. It is repeated three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, as many in the Epistle to Titus, and in no other book of the New Testament occurs at all, except once in the Epistle of Jude.

Similar terms, intermixed indeed with others, are employed, in the two epistles, in enumerating the qualifications required in those who should be advanced to stations of authority in the church.

"A bishop must be blameless, *the husband of one wife*, vigilant, *sober*, of good behaviour, *given to hospitality*, apt

to teach, *not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre;* but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity*." 1 Tim. chap. iii. 2—4.

"If any man be *blameless, the husband of one wife*, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly; for a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, *not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality*, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate†." Titus, chap. i. 6—8.

The most natural account which can be given of these resemblances, is to suppose that the two epistles were written nearly at the same time, and whilst the same ideas and phrases dwelt in the writer's mind. Let us inquire therefore, whether the notes of time, extant in the two epistles, in any manner favour this supposition.

We have seen that it was necessary to refer the First Epistle to Timothy to a date subsequent to St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, because there was no journey into Macedonia prior to that event, which accorded with the circumstance of leaving "Timothy behind at Ephesus." The journey of St. Paul from Crete, alluded to in the epistle before us, and in which Titus "was left in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting," must, in like manner, be carried to the period which intervened between his first and second imprisonment. For the history, which

* "Δει ειναι τον επισκοπον ανεπιλημπτον ειναι, μιας γυναικος ανδρα, νηφαλιον, σωφρονα, κοσμιον, φιλοξενον, διδακτικον, μη παροινον, μη πληκτην, μη αισχροκερδη· αλλ' επιεικη, αμαχον, αφιλαργυρον; τον ιδιου οικου καλως προϊσταμενον, τεκνα εχοντα εν υποταγη μετα πασης σεμνοτητος."

† "Ει τις εστιν ανεγκλητος, μιας γυναικος ανηρ, τεκνα εχων πιστα, μη εν κατηγορια ασωτιας, η ανυποτακτα. Δει γαρ τον επισκοπον ανεγκλητον ειναι, ως Θεου οικονομον, μη αυθαδη, μη οργιλον, μη παροινον, μη πληκτην, μη αισχροκερδη· αλλα φιλοξενον, φιλαγαθον, σωφρονα, δικαιον, οσιον, εγκρατη."

reaches, we know, to the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment, contains no account of his going to Crete, except upon his voyage as a prisoner to Rome; and that this could not be the occasion referred to in our epistle is evident from hence, that when St. Paul wrote this epistle, he appears to have been at liberty; whereas after that voyage, he continued for two years at least in confinement. Again, it is agreed that St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to Timothy from Macedonia: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went (or came) into Macedonia." And that he was in these parts, i. e. in this peninsula, when he wrote the Epistle to Titus, is rendered probable by his directing Titus to come to him to Nicopolis: "When I shall send Artemas unto thee or Tychicus, be diligent (make haste) to come unto me to Nicopolis; for I have determined there to winter." The most noted city of that name was in Epirus, near to Actium. And I think the form of speaking, as well as the nature of the case, renders it probable, that the writer was at Nicopolis, or in the neighbourhood thereof, when he dictated this direction to Titus.

Upon the whole, if we may be allowed to suppose that St. Paul, after his liberation at Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia, and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of Nicopolis; we have a route which falls in with every thing. It executes the intention expressed by the apostle of visiting Colosse and Philippi as soon as he should be set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave "Titus at Crete," and "Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia:" and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, and probably the neighbourhood of

Nicopolis: thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for that affinity between them, both in subject and language, which our remarks have pointed out. I confess that the journey which we have thus traced out for St. Paul, is, in a great measure, hypothetick; but it should be observed, that it is a species of consistency, which seldom belongs to falsehood, to admit of an hypothesis, which includes a great number of independent circumstances without contradiction.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

No. I.

The singular correspondency between this epistle and that to the Colossians has been remarked already. An assertion in the Epistle to the Colossians, viz. that "Onesimus was one of them," is verified by the Epistle to Philemon; and is verified, not by any mention of Colosse, any the most distant intimation concerning the place of Philemon's abode, but singly by stating Onesimus to be Philemon's servant, and by joining in the salutation Philemon with Archippus; for this Archippus, when we go back to the Epistle to the Colossians, appears to have been an inhabitant of that city, and, as it should seem, to have held an office of authority in that church. The case stands thus. Take the Epistle to the Colossians alone, and no circumstance is discoverable which makes out the assertion, that Onesimus was "one of them." Take the Epistle to Philemon alone, and nothing at all appears concerning the place to which Philemon or his servant Onesimus belonged.

For any thing that is said in the epistle, Philemon might have been a Thessalonian, a Philippian, or an Ephesian, as well as a Colossian. Put the two epistles together and the matter is clear. The reader perceives a *junction* of circumstances, which ascertains the conclusion at once. Now, all that is necessary to be added in this place is, that this correspondency evinces the genuineness of one epistle, as well as of the other. It is like comparing the two parts of a cloven tally. Coincidence proves the authenticity of both.

No. II.

And this coincidence is perfect; not only in the main article of showing, by implication, Onesimus to be a Colossian, but in many dependant circumstances.

1. "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom *I have sent* again," (ver. 10—12). It appears from the Epistle to the Colossians, that, in truth, Onesimus was sent at that time to Colosse: "All my state shall Tychicus declare, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, *with Onesimus*, a faithful and beloved brother." Colos. chap. iv. 7—9.

2. "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, *whom I have begotten in my bonds*," (ver. 10). It appears from the preceding quotation, that Onesimus was with St. Paul when he wrote the epistle to the Colossians; and that he wrote that epistle *in imprisonment* is evident from his declaration in the fourth chapter and third verse: "Praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also *in bonds*."

3. St. Paul bids Philemon prepare for him a lodging; "For I trust," says he, "that, through your prayers, I

shall be given unto you." This agrees with the expectation of speedy deliverance, which he expressed in another epistle written during the same imprisonment: "Him," (Timothy) "I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; *but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.*" Phil. chap. ii. 23, 24.

4. As the letter to Philemon, and that to the Colossians, were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, the one to a particular inhabitant, the other to the church of Colosse, it may be expected that the same, or nearly the same, persons would be about St. Paul, and join with him, as was the practice, in the salutations of the epistle. Accordingly we find the names of Aristarchus, Marcus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, in both epistles. Timothy, who is joined with St. Paul in the superscription of the Epistle to the Colossians, is joined with him in this. Tychicus did not salute Philemon, because he accompanied the epistle to Colosse, and would undoubtedly there see him. Yet the reader of the Epistle to Philemon will remark one considerable diversity in the catalogue of saluting friends, and which shows that the catalogue was not copied from that to the Colossians. In the Epistle to the Colossians, Aristarchus is called by St. Paul his fellow-prisoner, Colos. chap. iv. 10.; in the Epistle to Philemon, Aristarchus is mentioned without any addition, and the title of fellow-prisoner is given to Epaphras*.

* Dr. Benson observes, and perhaps truly, that the appellation of fellow-prisoner, as applied by St. Paul to Epaphras, did not imply that they were imprisoned together *at the time*; any more than your calling a person your fellow-traveller, imports that you are then upon your travels. If he had, upon any former occasion, travelled with you, you might afterwards speak of him under that title. It is just so with the term fellow-prisoner.

And let it also be observed, that notwithstanding the close and circumstantial agreement between the two epistles, this is not the case of an opening left in a genuine writing, which an impostor is induced to fill up; nor of a reference to some writing not extant, which sets a sophist at work to supply the loss, in like manner as, because St. Paul was supposed, Colos. chap. iv. 16, to allude to an epistle written by him to the Laodiceans, some person has from thence taken the hint of uttering a forgery under that title. The present, I say, is not that case; for Philemon's name is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians; Onesimus' servile condition is no where hinted at, any more than his crime, his flight, or the place or time of his conversion. The story therefore of the epistle, if it be a fiction, is a fiction to which the author could not have been guided, by any thing he had read in St. Paul's genuine writings.

No. III.

Ver. 4, 5. "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers; hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints."

"*Hearing of thy love and faith.*" This is the form of speech which St. Paul was wont to use towards those churches which he had not seen, or then visited; see Rom. chap. i. 8; Ephes. chap. i. 15; Col. chap. i. 3, 4. Toward those churches and persons, with whom he was previously acquainted, he employed a different phrase; as, "I thank my God always on your behalf," 1 Cor. chap. i. 4; 2 Thess. chap. i. 3; or, "upon every *remembrance* of you," Phil. chap. i. 3; 1 Thess. chap. i. 2, 3; 2 Tim. chap. i. 3: and never speaks of *hearing of them.* Yet, I think, it must be concluded, from the nineteenth verse of this epistle, that

Philemon had been converted by St. Paul himself; "Albeit, I do not say to thee, how *thou owest unto me* even thine own self besides." Here then is a peculiarity. Let us inquire whether the epistle supplies any circumstance which will account for it. We have seen that it may be made out, not from the epistle itself, but from a comparison of the epistle with that to the Colossians, that Philemon was an inhabitant of Colosse; and it further appears, from the Epistle to the Colossians, that St. Paul had never been in that city; "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." Col. chap. ii. 1. Although, therefore, St. Paul had formerly met with Philemon at some other place, and had been the immediate instrument of his conversion, yet Philemon's faith and conduct afterwards, inasmuch as he lived in a city which St. Paul had never visited, could only be known to him by fame and reputation.

No. IV.

The tenderness and delicacy of this epistle have been long admired: "Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such a one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds." There is something certainly very melting and persuasive in this, and every part of the epistle. Yet, in my opinion, the character of St. Paul prevails in it throughout. The warm, affectionate, authoritative teacher is interceding with an absent friend for a beloved convert. He urges his suit with an earnestness, befitting perhaps not so much the occasion, as the ardour and sensibility of his own mind. Here also, as every where, he shows himself con-

scious of the weight and dignity of his mission; nor does he suffer Philemon for a moment to forget it: "I *might* be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient." He is careful also to recall, though obliquely, to Philemon's memory, the sacred obligation under which he had laid him, by bringing to him the knowledge of Jesus Christ; "I do not say to thee, how thou owest to me even thine own self besides." Without laying aside, therefore, the apostolick character, our author softens the imperative style of his address, by mixing with it every sentiment and consideration that could move the heart of his correspondent. Aged and in prison, he is content to supplicate and entreat. Onesimus was rendered dear to him by his conversion and his services; the child of his affliction, and "ministering unto him in the bonds of the gospel." This ought to recommend him, whatever had been his fault, to Philemon's forgiveness: "Receive him as myself, as my own bowels." Every thing, however, should be voluntary. St. Paul was determined that Philemon's compliance should flow from his own bounty: "Without thy mind would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly;" trusting nevertheless to his gratitude and attachment for the performance of all that he requested, and for more: "Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

St. Paul's discourse at Miletus; his speech before Agrippa; his Epistle to the Romans, as hath been remarked (No. VIII); that to the Galatians, chap. iv. 11—20; to the Philippians, chap. i. 29—ch. ii. 2; the Second to the Corinthians, chap. vi. 1—13; and indeed some part or other of almost every epistle exhibit examples of a similar application to the feelings and affections of the persons whom he addresses. And it is observable, that these pa-

thetick effusions, drawn for the most part from his own sufferings and situation, usually precede a command, soften a rebuke, or mitigate the harshness of some disagreeable truth.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE EPISTLES.

Six of these *subscriptions* are false or improbable; that is, they are either absolutely contradicted by the contents of the epistle, or are difficult to be reconciled with them.

I. The subscription of the First Epistle to the Corinthians states that it was written from Philippi, notwithstanding that, in the sixteenth chapter and the eighth verse of the epistle, St. Paul informs the Corinthians, that he will "tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;" and notwithstanding that he begins the salutations in the epistle, by telling them "the churches of Asia salute you;" a pretty evident indication that he himself was in Asia at this time.

II. The Epistle to the Galatians is by the subscription dated from Rome; yet, in the epistle itself, St. Paul expresses his surprise "that they were *so soon* removing from him that called them;" whereas his journey to Rome was ten years posteriour to the conversion of the Galatians. And what, I think, is more conclusive, the author, though speaking of himself in this more than any other epistle, does not once mention his bonds, or call himself a prisoner; which he had not failed to do in every one of the four epistles written from that city, and during that imprisonment.

III. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, the subscription tells us, from Athens; yet the epistle refers expressly to the coming of Timotheus from Thessa-

lonica (chap. iii. 6): and the history informs us, Acts xviii. 5, that Timothy came out of Macedonia to St. Paul at *Corinth*.

IV. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is dated, and without any discoverable reason, from Athens also. If it be truly the *second;* if it refer, as it appears to do, (ch. ii. 2,) to the first, and the first was written from Corinth, the place must be erroneously assigned, for the history does not allow us to suppose that St. Paul, after he had reached Corinth, went back to Athens.

V. The First Epistle to Timothy the subscription asserts to have been sent from Laodicea; yet, when St. Paul writes, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, πορευομενος εις Μακεδονιαν (when I set out for Macedonia,)" the reader is naturally led to conclude, that he wrote the letter upon his arrival in that country.

VI. The Epistle to Titus is dated from Nicopolis in Macedonia, whilst no city of that name is known to have existed in that province.

The use, and the only use, which I make of these observations, is to show, how easily errours and contradictions steal in where the writer is not guided by original knowledge. There are only eleven distinct assignments of date to St. Paul's Epistles (for the four written from Rome may be considered as plainly cotemporary); and of these, six seem to be erroneous. I do not attribute any authority to these subscriptions. I believe them to have been conjectures founded sometimes upon loose traditions, but more generally upon a consideration of some particular text, without sufficiently comparing it with other parts of the epistle, with different epistles, or with the history. Suppose then that the subscriptions had come down to us as authentick parts of the epistles, there would have been more contrarieties and difficulties arising out of these final verses,

than from all the rest of the volume. Yet, if the epistles had been forged, the whole must have been made up of the same elements as those of which the subscriptions are composed, viz. tradition, conjecture, and inference: and it would have remained to be accounted for, how, whilst so many errours were crowded into the concluding clauses of the letters, so much consistency should be preserved in other parts.

The same reflection arises from observing the oversights and mistakes which learned men have committed, when arguing upon allusions which relate to time and place, or when endeavouring to digest scattered circumstances into a continued story. It is indeed the same case; for these subscriptions must be regarded as ancient scholia, and as nothing more. Of this liability to errour I can present the reader with a notable instance; and which I bring forward for no other purpose than that to which I apply the erroneous subscriptions. Ludovicus Capellus, in that part of his Historia Apostolica Illustrata, which is entitled *De Ordine*, Epist. Paul. writing upon the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, triumphs unmercifully over the want of sagacity in Baronius, who, it seems, makes St Paul write his Epistle to Titus from Macedonia upon his second visit into that province; whereas it appears from the history, that Titus, instead of being in Crete where the epistle places him, was at that time sent by the apostle from Macedonia to Corinth. "Animadvertere est," says Capellus, "magnam hominis illius ἀβλεψίαν, qui vult Titum a Paulo in Cretam abductum, illicque relictum, cum inde Nicopolim navigaret, quem tamen agnoscit a Paulo ex Macedoniâ missum esse Corinthum." This probably will be thought a detection of inconsistency in Baronius. But what is the most remarkable, is, that in the same chapter in which he thus indulges his contempt of Baronius's judgment, Capellus himself falls

into an errour of the same kind, and more gross and palpable than that which he reproves. For he begins the chapter by stating the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the First Epistle to Timothy to be nearly cotemporary; to have been both written during the apostle's second visit into Macedonia; and that a doubt subsisted concerning the immediate priority of their dates; "Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios Epistola, et Prior ad Timotheum certant de prioritate, et sub judice lis est; utraque autem scripta est paulo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret, sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet." Now, in the first place, it is highly improbable that the two epistles should have been written either nearly together, or during the same journey through Macedonia; for in the Epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy appears to have been *with* St. Paul; in the epistle addressed to him, to have been left behind at Ephesus, and not only left behind, but directed to continue there, till St. Paul should return to that city. In the second place it is inconceivable, that a question should be proposed concerning the priority of date of the two epistles; for, when St Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, opens his address to him by saying, "as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," no reader can doubt but that he here refers to the *last* interview which had passed between them; that he had not seen him since; whereas if the epistle be posteriour to that to the Corinthians, yet written upon the same visit into Macedonia, this could not be true; for as Timothy was along with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians, he must, upon this supposition, have passed over to St. Paul in Macedonia after he had been left by him at Ephesus, and must have returned to Ephesus again before the epistle was written. What misled Ludovicus Capellus was simply this, that he had entirely overlooked Timothy's

name in the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Which oversight appears not only in the quotation which we have given, but from his telling us, as he does, that Timothy came from Ephesus to St. Paul at *Corinth*, whereas the superscription proves that Timothy was already with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians from Macedonia.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONCLUSION.

In the outset of this inquiry, the reader was directed to consider the Acts of the Apostles and the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul as certain ancient manuscripts, lately discovered in the closet of some celebrated library. We have adhered to this view of the subject. External evidence of every kind has been removed out of sight; and our endeavours have been employed to collect the indications of truth and authenticity, which appeared to exist in the writings themselves, and to result from a comparison of their different parts. It is not however necessary to continue this supposition longer. The testimony which other remains of contemporary, or the monuments of adjoining ages afford to the reception, notoriety, and publick estimation of a book, form no doubt the first proof of its genuineness. And in no books whatever is this proof more complete, than in those at present under our consideration. The inquiries of learned men, and, above all, of the excellent Lardner, who never overstates a point of evidence, and whose fidelity in citing his authorities has in no one instance been impeached, have established, concerning these writings, the following propositions:

I. That in the age immediately posteriour to that in which St. Paul lived, his letters were publickly read and acknowledged.

Some of them are quoted or alluded to by almost every Christian writer that followed, by Clement of Rome, by Hermas, by Ignatius, by Polycarp, disciples or contemporaries of the apostles; by Justin Martyr, by the churches of Gaul, by Irenæus, by Athenagoras, by Theophilus, by Clement of Alexandria, by Hermias, by Tertullian, who occupied the succeeding age. Now when we find a book quoted or referred to by an ancient author, we are entitled to conclude, that it was read and received in the age and country in which that author lived. And this conclusion does not, in any degree, rest upon the judgment or character of the author making such reference. Proceeding by this rule, we have, concerning the First Epistle to the Corinthians in particular, within forty years after the epistle was written, evidence, not only of its being extant at Corinth, but of its being known and read at Rome. Clement, bishop of that city, writing to the church of Corinth, uses these words: "Take into your hands the Epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he at first write unto you in the beginning of the gospel? Verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself and Cephas, and Apollos, because that even then you did form parties*." This was written at a time when probably some must have been living at Corinth, who remembered St. Paul's ministry there and the receipt of the epistle. The testimony is still more valuable, as it shows that the epistles were preserved in the churches to which they were sent, and that they were spread and propagated from them to the rest of the Christian community. Agreeably to which

* See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 22.

natural mode and order of their publication, Tertullian, a century afterwards, for proof of the integrity and genuineness of the apostolick writings, bids "any one, who is willing to exercise his curiosity profitably in the business of their salvation, to visit the apostolical churches, in which their very authentick letters are recited, ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur." Then he goes on: "Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus; but if you are near to Italy, you have Rome*." I adduce this passage to show, that the distinct churches or Christian societies, to which St. Paul's Epistles were sent, subsisted for some ages afterwards; that his several epistles were all along respectively read in those churches; that Christians at large received them from those churches, and appealed to those churches for their originality and authenticity.

Arguing in like manner from citations and allusions, we have, within the space of a hundred and fifty years from the time that the first of St. Paul's Epistles was written, proofs of almost all of them being read, in Palestine, Syria, the countries of Asia Minor, in Egypt, in that part of Africa which used the Latin tongue, in Greece, Italy, and Gaul†. I do not mean simply to assert, that, within the space of a hundred and fifty years, St. Paul's Epistles were read in those countries, for I believe that they were read and circulated from the beginning; but that proofs of their being so read occur within that period. And when it is considered how few of the primitive Christians wrote, and of what was written how much is lost, we are to account it extraordinary, or rather as a sure proof of the extensiveness

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 598.

† See Lardner's Recapitulation, vol. xii. p. 53.

of the reputation of these writings, and of the general respect in which they were held, that so many testimonies, and of such antiquity, are still extant. "In the remaining works of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, there are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero, in the writings of all characters for several ages*." We must add, that the Epistles of Paul come in for their full share of this observation; and that all the thirteen epistles, except that to Philemon, which is not quoted by Irenæus or Clement, and which probably escaped notice merely by its brevity, are severally cited, and expressly recognized as St. Paul's by each of these Christian writers. The Ebionites, an early, though inconsiderable Christian sect, rejected St. Paul and his Epistles†; that is, they rejected these epistles, not because they were not, but because they were St. Paul's; and because, adhering to the obligation of the Jewish law, they chose to dispute his doctrine and authority. Their suffrage as to the genuineness of the epistle does not contradict that of other Christians. Marcion, an heretical writer in the former part of the second century, is said by Tertullian to have rejected three of the epistles which we now receive, viz. the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. It appears to me not improbable, that Marcion might make some such distinction as this, that no apostolick epistle was to be admitted which was not read or attested by the church to which it was sent; for it is remarkable that, together with these epistles to private persons, he rejected also the catholick epistles. Now the catholick epistles and the epistles to private persons agree in the circumstance of wanting this

* See Lardner's Recapitulation, vol. xii. p. 53.

† Lardner, vol. ii. p. 808.

particular species of attestation. Marcion, it seems, acknowledged the Epistle to Philemon, and is upbraided for his inconsistency in doing so by Tertullian*, who asks "why, when he received a letter written to a single person, he should refuse two to Timothy and one to Titus composed upon the affairs of the church?" This passage so far favours our account of Marcion's objection, as it shows that the objection was supposed by Tertullian to have been founded in something, which belonged to the nature of a private letter.

Nothing of the works of Marcion remains. Probably he was, after all, a rash, arbitrary, licentious critick (if he deserved indeed the name of critick), and who offered no reason for his determination. What St. Jerome says of him intimates this, and is beside founded in good sense: speaking of him and Basilides, "if they had assigned any reasons," says he, "why they did not reckon these epistles," viz. the first and second to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, "to be the apostle's, we would have endeavoured to have answered them, and perhaps might have satisfied the reader: but when they take upon them, by their own authority, to pronounce one epistle to be Paul's, and another not, they can only be replied to in the same manner†." Let it be remembered, however, that Marcion received ten of these epistles. His authority therefore, even if his credit had been better than it is, forms a very small exception to the uniformity of the evidence. Of Basilides we know still less than we do of Marcion. The same observation however belongs to him, viz. that his objection, as far as appears from this passage of St. Jerome, was confined to the three private epistles. Yet is this the only opinion

* Lardner, vol. xiv. p. 455. † Lardner, vol. xiv. p. 458.

which can be said to disturb the consent of the two first centuries of the Christian era; for as to Tatian, who is reported by Jerome alone to have rejected some of St. Paul's Epistles, the extravagant or rather delirious notions into which he fell, take away all weight and credit from his judgment. If, indeed, Jerome's account of this circumstance be correct; for it appears from much older writers than Jerome, that Tatian owned and used many of these epistles*.

II. They, who in those ages disputed about so many other points, agreed in acknowledging the Scriptures now before us. Contending sects appealed to them in their controversies with equal and unreserved submission. When they were urged by one side, however they might be interpreted or misinterpreted by the other, their authority was not questioned. "Reliqui omnes," says Irenæus, speaking of Marcion, "falso scientiæ nomine inflati, scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt†."

III. When the genuineness of some other writings which were in circulation, and even of a few which are now received into the canon, was contested, these were never called into dispute. Whatever was the objection, or whether, in truth, there ever was any real objection to the authenticity of the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, the Epistle of James, or that of Jude, or to the book of the Revelations of St. John, the doubts that appear to have been entertained concerning them, exceedingly strengthen the force of the testimony as to those writings, about which there was no doubt; because it shows, that the matter was a subject, amongst the early Christians, of

* Lardner, vol. i. p. 313.

† Iren. advers. Hær. quoted by Lardner, vol. xv. p. 425.

examination and discussion; and that, where there was any room to doubt, they did doubt.

What Eusebius hath left upon the subject is directly to the purpose of this observation. Eusebius, it is well known, divided the ecclesiastical writings which were extant in his time into three classes; the "ἀναντίρρητα, uncontradicted," as he calls them in one chapter; or "scriptures universally acknowledged," as he calls them in another; the "controverted, yet well known and approved by many;" and "the spurious." What were the shades of difference in the books of the second, or in those of the third class; or what it was precisely that he meant by the term *spurious*, it is not necessary in this place to inquire. It is sufficient for us to find, that the thirteen epistles of St. Paul are placed by him in the first class without any sort of hesitation or doubt.

It is further also to be collected from the chapter in which this distinction is laid down, that the method made use of by Eusebius, and by the Christians of his time, viz. the close of the third century, in judging concerning the sacred authority of any books, was to inquire after and consider the testimony of those who lived near the age of the apostles*.

IV. That no ancient writing, which is attested as these epistles are, hath had its authenticity disproved, or is in fact questioned. The controversies which have been moved concerning suspected writings, as the epistles, for instance, of Phalaris, or the eighteen epistles of Cicero, begin by showing that this attestation is wanting. That being proved, the question is thrown back upon internal marks of spuriousness or authenticity; and in these the dispute is

* Lardner, vol. viii. p. 106.

occupied. In which disputes it is to be observed, that the contested writings are commonly attacked by arguments drawn from some opposition which they betray to "authentick history," to "true principles," to "the real sentiments or circumstances of the author whom they personate*;" which authentick history, which true epistles, which real sentiments themselves, are no other than ancient documents, whose early existence and reception can be proved, in the manner in which the writings before us are traced up to the age of their reputed author, or to ages near to his. A modern who sits down to compose the history of some ancient period, has no stronger evidence to appeal to for the most confident assertion, or the most undisputed fact, that he delivers, than writings, whose genuineness is proved by the same medium through which we evince the authenticity of ours. Nor, whilst he can have recourse to such authorities as these, does he apprehend any uncertainty in his accounts, from the suspicion of spuriousness or imposture in his materials.

V. It cannot be shown that any forgeries, properly so called†, that is, writings published under the name of the person who did not compose them, made their appearance in the first century of the Christian era, in which century these epistles undoubtedly existed. I shall set down under this proposition the guarded words of Lardner himself: "There are no quotations of any books of them (spurious and apocryphal books) in the apostolical fathers, by whom I mean Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius,

* See the tracts written in the controversy between Tunstal and Middleton upon certain suspected epistles ascribed to Cicero.

† I believe that there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lardner's observations, that comparatively few of those books, which we call apocryphal, were strictly and originally forgeries. See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 167.

and Polycarp, whose writings reach from the year of our Lord 70 to the year 108. *I say this confidently, because I think it has been proved**."

Nor when they did appear were they much used by the primitive Christians. "Irenæus quotes not any of these books. He mentions some of them, but he never quotes them. The same may be said of Tertullian: he has mentioned a book called 'Acts of Paul and Thecla:' but it is only to condemn it. Clement of Alexandria and Origen have mentioned and quoted several such books, but never as authority, and sometimes with express marks of dislike. Eusebius quotes no such books in any of his works. He has mentioned them indeed, but how? Not by way of approbation, but to show that they were of little or no value; and that they never were received by the sounder part of Christians." Now, if with this, which is advanced after the most minute and diligent examination, we compare what the same cautious writer had before said of our received scriptures, "that in the works of three only of the above mentioned fathers, there are more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero in the writers of all characters for several ages;" and if, with the marks of obscurity or condemnation, which accompanied the mention of the several apocryphal Christian writings, when they happened to be mentioned at all, we contrast what Dr. Lardner's work completely and in detail makes out concerning the writings which we defend, and what, having so made out, he thought himself authorized in his conclusion to assert, that these books were not only received from the beginning, but received with the greatest respect; have been publickly and

* Lardner, vol. xii. p. 158.

solemnly read in the assemblies of Christians throughout the world, in every age from that time to this; early translated into the languages of divers countries and people; commentaries written to explain and illustrate them; quoted by way of proof in all arguments of a religious nature; recommended to the perusal of unbelievers, as containing the authentick account of the Christian doctrine; when we attend, I say, to this representation, we perceive in it, not only full proof of the early notoriety of these books, but a clear and sensible line of discrimination, which separates these from the pretensions of any others.

The Epistles of St. Paul stand particularly free of any doubt or confusion that might arise from this source. Until the conclusion of the fourth century, no intimation appears of any attempt whatever being made to counterfeit these writings; and then it appears only of a single and obscure instance. Jerome, who flourished in the year 392, has this expression: "Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses; sed ab omnibus exploditur;" there is also an Epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is rejected by every body*. Theodoret, who wrote in the year 423, speaks of this epistle in the same terms†. Beside these, I know not whether any ancient writer mentions it. It was certainly unnoticed during the three first centuries of the Church; and when it came afterwards to be mentioned, it was mentioned only to show, that, though such a writing did exist, it obtained no credit. It is probable that the forgery to which Jerome alludes, is the epistle which we now have under that title. If so, as hath been already observed, it is nothing more than a collection of sentences from the genuine Epistles; and was perhaps, at first, rather the

* Lardner, vol. x. p. 103. † Lardner, vol. xi. p. 88.

exercise of some idle pen, than any serious attempt to impose a forgery upon the publick. Of an Epistle to the Corinthians under St. Paul's name, which was brought into Europe in the present century, antiquity is entirely silent. It was unheard of for sixteen centuries; and at this day, though it be extant, and was first found in the Armenian language, it is not, by the Christians of that country, received into their scriptures. I hope, after this, that there is no reader who will think there is any competition of credit, or of external proof, between these and the received Epistles: or rather, who will not acknowledge the evidence of authenticity to be confirmed by the want of success which attended imposture.

When we take into our hands the letters which the suffrage and consent of antiquity hath thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole. Let the sceptick read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities in them, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be; if he perceive in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed, that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way, than by sending him to the books themselves.

And here, in its proper place, comes in the argument which it has been the office of these pages to unfold. St. Paul's Epistles are connected with the history by their particularity, and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them. When we descend to an examination

and comparison of these circumstances, we not only observe the history and the epistles to be independent documents unknown to, or at least unconsulted by, each other, but we find the substance, and oftentimes very minute articles, of the history, recognized in the epistles, by allusions and references, which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident, by hints and expressions, and single words dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth, each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs, but widely removed from any view to consistency or agreement. These, we know, are effects which reality naturally produces, but which, without reality at the bottom, can hardly be conceived to exist.

When therefore, with a body of external evidence, which is relied upon, and which experience proves may safely be relied upon, in appreciating the credit of ancient writings, we combine characters of genuineness and originality which are not found, and which, in the nature and order of things, cannot be expected to be found in spurious compositions; whatever difficulties we may meet with in other topicks of the Christian evidence, we can have little in yielding our assent to the following conclusions: that there was such a person as St. Paul; that he lived in the age which we ascribe to him; that he went about preaching the religion of which Jesus Christ was the founder; and that the letters which we now read were actually written by him upon the subject, and in the course of that his ministry.

And if it be true that we are in possession of the very letters which St. Paul wrote, let us consider what confirmation they afford to the Christian history. In my opinion they substantiate the whole transaction. The great object of modern research is to come at the epistolary correspond-

ence of the times. Amidst the obscurities, the silence, or the contradictions of history, if a letter can be found, we regard it as the discovery of a landmark; as that by which we can correct, adjust, or supply the imperfections and uncertainties of other accounts. One cause of the superiour credit which is attributed to letters is this, that the facts which they disclose generally come out *incidentally*, and therefore without design to mislead the publick by false or exaggerated accounts. This reason may be applied to St. Paul's Epistles with as much justice as to any letters whatever. Nothing could be further from the intention of the writer than to record any part of his history. That his history was *in fact* made publick by these letters, and has by the same means been transmitted to future ages, is a secondary and unthought-of effect. The sincerity therefore of the apostle's declarations cannot reasonably be disputed; at least we are sure that it was not vitiated by any desire of setting himself off to the publick at large. But these letters form a part of the muniments of Christianity, as much to be valued for their contents, as for their originality. A more inestimable treasure the care of antiquity could not have sent down to us. Beside the proof they afford of the general reality of St. Paul's history, of the knowledge which the author of the Acts of the Apostles had obtained of that history, and the consequent probability that he was, what he professes himself to have been, a companion of the apostle's; beside the support they lend to these important inferences, they meet specifically some of the principal objections upon which the adversaries of Christianity have thought proper to rely. In particular they show,

I. That Christianity was not a story set on foot amidst the confusions which attended and immediately preceded

the destruction of Jerusalem; when many extravagant reports were circulated, when men's minds were broken by terrour and distress, when amidst the tumults that surrounded them inquiry was impracticable. These letters show incontestably that the religion had fixed and established itself before this state of things took place.

II. Whereas it hath been insinuated, that our gospels may have been made up of reports and stories, which were current at the time, we may observe that, with respect to the Epistles, this is impossible. A man cannot write the history of his own life from reports; nor, what is the same thing, be led by reports to refer to passages and transactions in which he states himself to have been immediately present and active. I do not allow that this insinuation is applied to the historical part of the New Testament with any colour of justice or probability; but I say, that to the Epistles it is not applicable at all.

III. These letters prove that the converts to Christianity were not drawn from the barbarous, the mean, or the ignorant set of men, which the representations of infidelity would sometimes make them. We learn from letters the character not only of the writer, but, in some measure, of the persons to whom they are written. To suppose that these letters were addressed to a rude tribe, incapable of thought or reflection, is just as reasonable as to suppose Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding to have been written for the instruction of savages. Whatever may be thought of these letters in other respects, either of diction or argument, they are certainly removed as far as possible from the habits and comprehension of a barbarous people.

IV. St. Paul's history, I mean so much of it as may be collected from his letters, is so *implicated* with that of the

other apostles, and with the substance indeed of the Christian history itself, that I apprehend it will be found impossible to admit St. Paul's story (I do not speak of the miraculous part of it) to be true, and yet to reject the rest as fabulous. For instance, can any one believe that there was such a man as Paul, a preacher of Christianity in the age which we assign to him, and *not* believe that there were also at the same time such men as Peter and James, and other apostles, who had been companions of Christ during his life, and who after his death published and avowed the same things concerning him which Paul taught? Judea, and especially Jerusalem, was the scene of Christ's ministry. The witnesses of his miracles lived there. St. Paul, by his own account, as well as that of his historian, appears to have frequently visited that city; to have carried on a communication with the church there; to have associated with the rulers and elders of that church, who were some of them apostles; to have acted, as occasions offered, in correspondence, and sometimes in conjunction with them. Can it, after this, be doubted, but that the religion and the general facts relating to it, which St. Paul appears by his letters to have delivered to the several churches which he established at a distance, were at the same time taught and published at Jerusalem itself, the place where the business was transacted; and taught and published by those who had attended the founder of the institution in his miraculous, or pretendedly miraculous ministry?

It is observable, for so it appears both in the Epistles and from the Acts of the Apostles, that Jerusalem, and the society of believers in that city, long continued the centre, from which the missionaries of the religion issued, with which all other churches maintained a correspondence and connexion, to which they referred their doubts, and to whose relief, in times of publick distress, they remitted their

charitable assistance. This observation I think material, because it proves that this was not the case of giving our accounts in one country of what is transacted in another, without affording the hearers an opportunity of knowing whether the things related were credited by any, or even published, in the place where they are reported to have passed.

V. St. Paul's letters furnish evidence (and what better evidence than a man's own letters can be desired?) of the soundness and sobriety of his judgment. His caution in distinguishing between the occasional suggestions of inspiration, and the ordinary exercise of his natural understanding, is without example in the history of human enthusiasm. His morality is every where calm, pure, and rational: adapted to the condition, the activity, and the business of social life, and of its various relations; free from the over-scrupulousness and austerities of superstition, and from, what was more perhaps to be apprehended, the abstractions of quietism, and the soarings and extravagancies of fanaticism. His judgment concerning a hesitating conscience; his opinion of the moral indifferency of many actions, yet of the prudence and even the duty of compliance, where non-compliance would produce evil effects upon the minds of the persons who observed it, is as correct and just as the most liberal and enlightened moralist could form at this day. The accuracy of modern ethicks has found nothing to amend in these determinations.

What Lord Lyttleton has remarked of the preference ascribed by St Paul to inward rectitude of principle above every other religious accomplishment is very material to our present purpose. "In his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiii. 1—3, St. Paul has these words: *Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cym-*

bal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Is this the language of enthusiasm? Did ever enthusiast prefer that universal benevolence which comprehendeth all moral virtues, and which, as appeareth by the following verses, is meant by charity here; did ever enthusiast, I say, prefer that benevolence" (which we may add is attainable by every man) "to faith and to miracles, to those religious opinions which he had embraced, and to those supernatural graces and gifts which he imagined he had acquired: nay even to the merit of martyrdom? Is it not the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues infinitely below the merit of faith; and of all moral virtues to value that least which is most particularly enforced by St. Paul, a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace? Certainly neither the temper nor the opinions of a man subject to fanatick delusions are to be found in this passage." Lord Lyttelton's Considerations on the Conversion, &c.

I see no reason therefore to question the integrity of his understanding. To call him a visionary, because he appealed to visions; or an enthusiast, because he pretended to inspiration, is to take the whole question for granted. It is to take for granted that no such visions or inspirations existed; at least it is to assume, contrary to his own assertions, that he had no other proofs than these to offer of his mission, or of the truth of his relations.

One thing I allow, that his letters every where discover great zeal and earnestness in the cause in which he was engaged; that is to say, he was convinced of the truth of what he taught; he was deeply impressed, but not more so

than the occasion merited, with a sense of its importance. This produces a corresponding animation and solicitude in the exercise of his ministry. But would not these considerations, supposing them to be well founded, have holden the same place, and produced the same effect, in a mind the strongest and the most sedate?

VI. These letters are decisive as to the sufferings of the author; also as to the distressed state of the Christian church, and the dangers which attended the preaching of the gospel.

"Whereof I Paul am made a minister, who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church." Col. ch. i. 24.

"If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable." Cor. ch. xv, 19.

"Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily. If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not?" 1 Cor. ch. xv. 30, &c.

"If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." Rom. ch. viii. 17, 18.

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." Rom. ch. viii. 35, 36.

"Rejoicing in hope, *patient in tribulation*, continuing instant in prayer." Rom. ch. xii. 12.

"Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good *for the present distress;* I say that it is good for a man so to be." 1 Cor. ch. vii. 25, 26.

"For unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me." Phil. ch. i. 29, 30.

"God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

"From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Gal. ch. vi. 14, 17.

"Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost." 1 Thess. ch. i. 6.

"We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure." 2 Thess. ch. i. 4.

We may seem to have accumulated texts unnecessarily; but beside that the point, which they are brought to prove, is of great importance, there is this also to be remarked in every one of the passages cited, that the allusion is drawn from the writer by the argument or the occasion; that the notice which is taken of his sufferings, and of the suffering condition of Christianity, is perfectly incidental, and is dictated by no design of stating the facts themselves. Indeed they are not stated at all; they may rather be said to be assumed. This is a distinction upon which we have relied a good deal in former parts of this treatise; and where the writer's information cannot be doubted, it always, in my opinion, adds greatly to the value and credit of the testimony.

If any reader require from the apostle more direct and explicit assertions of the same thing, he will receive full satisfaction in the following quotations.

"Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one: thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." 2 Cor. ch. xi. 23—28.

Can it be necessary to add more! "I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffetted, and have no certain dwelling place, and labour, working with our own hands; being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day." 1 Cor. ch. iv. 9—13. I subjoin this passage to the former, because it extends to the other apostles of Christianity much of that which St. Paul declared concerning himself.

In the following quotations, the reference to the author's sufferings is accompanied with a specification of time and place, and with an appeal for the truth of what he declares to the knowledge of the persons whom he addresses: "Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, *as ye know*, *at Philippi*, we were bold in our God

to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." 1 Thess. ch. ii. 2.

"But *thou hast fully known* my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, persecutions, afflictions, which came to me *at Antioch*, *at Iconium*, *at Lystra;* what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me." 2 Tim. ch. iii. 10, 11.

I apprehend that to this point, as far as the testimony of St. Paul is credited, the evidence from his letters is complete and full. It appears under every form in which it could appear, by occasional allusions and by direct assertions, by general declarations, and by specifick examples.

VII. St. Paul in these letters asserts, in positive and unequivocal terms, his performance of miracles strictly and properly so called.

"He therefore that ministereth to you the spirit, and worketh miracles (ενεργων δυναμεις) among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" Gal. ch. iii. 5.

"For I will not dare to speak of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me*, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders (εν δυναμει σημειων και τερατων), by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ." Rom. ch. xv. 18, 19.

"Truly the signs of the apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds," (εν σημειοις και τερασι και δυναμεσι†). 2 Cor. ch. xii. 12.

* i. e. "I will speak of nothing but what Christ hath wrought by *me*;" or, as Grotius interprets it, "Christ hath wrought so great things by me, that I will not dare to say what he hath not wrought."

† To these may be added the following indirect allusions, which, though if they had stood alone, i. e. without plainer text in the same

These words, signs, wonders, and mighty deeds, (σημεια, και τερατα, και δυναμεις), are the specifick appropriate terms throughout the New Testament, employed when publick sensible miracles are intended to be expressed. This will appear by consulting, amongst other places, the texts referred to in the note*; and it cannot be shown that they are ever employed to express any thing else.

Secondly, these words not only denote miracles as opposed to natural effects, but they denote visible, and what may be called external, miracles, as distinguished,

First, from *inspiration*. If St. Paul had meant to refer only to secret illuminations of his understanding, or secret influences upon his will or affections, he could not, with truth, have represented them as "signs and wonders *wrought* by him," of "signs and wonders and mighty deeds wrought *amongst* them."

Secondly, from *visions*. These would not, by any means, satisfy the force of the terms, "signs, wonders, and mighty

writings, they might have been accounted dubious; yet, when considered in conjunction with the passages already cited, can hardly receive any other interpretation than that which we give them.

"My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of man, but of the power of God." 1 Cor. chap. ii. 4, 5.

"The gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me, by the effectual working of his power." Eph. ch. iii. 7.

"For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal. ch. ii. 8.

"For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance." 1 Thes. ch. i. 5.

* Mark, xvi. 20. Luke, xxiii. 8. John, ii. 11, 23; iii. 2; iv. 48, 54; xi. 49. Acts, ii. 22; iv. 30; v. 12; vi. 8; vii. 16; xiv. 3; xv. 12. Heb. ii. 4.

deeds;" still less could they be said to be "*wrought* by him," or "wrought *amongst* them:" nor are these terms and expressions any where applied to visions. When our author alludes to the supernatural communications which he had received, either by vision or otherwise, he uses expressions suited to the nature of the subject, but very different from the words which we have quoted. He calls them revelations, but never signs, wonders, or mighty deeds. "I will come," says he, "to visions and *revelations* of the Lord;" and then proceeds to describe a particular instance, and afterwards adds, "lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given me a thorn in the flesh."

Upon the whole, the matter admits of no softening qualification, or ambiguity whatever. If St. Paul did not work actual, sensible, publick miracles, he has knowingly, in these letters, borne his testimony to a falsehood. I need not add, that, in two also of the quotations, he has advanced his assertion in the face of those persons amongst whom he declares the miracles to have been wrought.

Let it be remembered that the Acts of the Apostles describe various particular miracles wrought by St. Paul, which in their nature answer to the terms and expressions which we have seen to be used by St. Paul himself.

Here then we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who had addicted his life to the service of the gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead;

expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment, and the same dangers, yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was St. Paul. We have his letters in our hands; we have also a history purporting to be written by one of his fellow-travellers, and appearing, by a comparison with these letters, certainly to have been written by some person well acquainted with the transactions of his life. From the letters, as well as from the history, we gather not only the account which we have stated of *him*, but that he was one out of many who acted and suffered in the same manner; and that, of those who did so, several had been the companions of Christ's ministry, the ocular witnesses, or pretending to be such, of his miracles, and of his resurrection. We moreover find this same person referring in his letters to his supernatural conversion, the particulars and accompanying circumstances of which are related in the history, and which accompanying circumstances, if all or any of them be true, render it impossible to have been a delusion. We also find him positively, and in appropriated terms, asserting, that he himself worked miracles, strictly and properly so called, in support of the mission which he executed; the history, meanwhile, recording various passages of his ministry, which come up to the extent of this assertion. The question is, whether falsehood was ever attested by evidence like this. Falsehoods, we know, have found their way into reports, into tradition, into books; but is an example to be met with,

of a man voluntarily undertaking a life of want and pain, of incessant fatigue, of continual peril; submitting to the loss of his home and country, to stripes and stoning, to tedious imprisonment, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of carrying about a story of what was false, and of what, if false, he must have known to be so?

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN

INSTRUCTED IN READING,

AND IN THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION.

COMPILED

FOR THE USE OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN CARLISLE.

A a	B b	C c	D d	E e
F f	G g	H h	I i	K k
L l	M m	N n	O o	P p
Q q	R r	S s	T t	U u
V v	W w	X x	Y y	Z z

Y
X W
V Q R
S T U A
B C D E F G
H I J K
L M N
O P
Q

---

a e i o u and y.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE MASTERS AND MISTRESSES.

I. Let the child pronounce every syllable articulately: that is, clearly, distinctly, and fully. For this purpose let him open his mouth freely.

II. Let his voice be soft and gentle, not loud or boisterous.

III. Let him read slowly and deliberately, carefully observing every stop, and every emphatical word.

IV. Let him relieve his voice at every stop; at the same time support his voice steadily and firmly, and pronounce the concluding words of the period with force and vivacity.

V. Let him begin gently, slide over every insignificant particle; such as *and*, *but*, *if*, *or*, *as*, *so*, &c. and reserve the stress of his voice for words of more importance.

VI. Let the tone of his voice in reading be the same as it is in speaking. Let him not change the natural and easy sound, with which he speaks in conversation, for that formal and unnatural tone, which some people assume in reading.

VII. Let each lesson be read over and over, till the child be perfect in it, and able to read a line in a breath.

THE ALPHABET.

a	A	a	e	i	o	u
b	B					
c	C	ab	eb	ib	ob	ub
d	D	ac	ec	ic	oc	uc
e	E	ad	ed	id	od	ud
f	F	af	ef	if	of	uf
g	G	ag	eg	ig	og	ug
h	H	ah	eh	—	oh	—
i	I	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
j	J	al	el	il	ol	ul
k	K	am	em	im	om	um
l	L	an	en	in	on	un
m	M	ap	ep	ip	op	up
n	N	ar	er	ir	or	ur
o	O	as	es	is	os	us
p	P	at	et	it	ot	ut
q	Q	au	eu	—	ou	—
r	R	aw	ew	—	ow	—
s	S	ax	ex	ix	ox	ux
t	T	ay	ey	—	oy	—
u	U	az	ez	iz	oz	uz
v	V	a	e	i	o	u and y
w	W					
x	X	ba	be	bi	bo	bu by
y	Y	ca	ce	ci	co	cu cy
z	Z	da	de	di	do	du dy
		fa	fe	fi	fo	fu fy

The child must pronounce the following words clearly and distinctly; but no more than one word with the same breath. Let there be an interval of silence between every line, and by no means carry on a humming sound, or a drawling tone, from one word to another.

Of Monosyllables, or Words of one Syllable.

LESSON I.

A dog.	A pen.
A hog.	A pot.
A cat.	A sot.
A rat.	A pig.
A hen.	A fig.

LESSON II.

An ox.	A gun.
A fox.	A cap.
A man.	A map.
A fan.	A nut.
A fop.	A hut.
A top.	A mat.
A bar.	A hat.
A car.	A spy.
A net.	A fly.
A pet.	A page.
A nod.	A cage.
A rod.	A tile.
A boy.	A mile.
A toy.	A gale.
A bag.	A vale.
A nag.	A cane.
A bun.	A lane.

A home.
A dome.
A cave.
A wave.
A shop.
A drop.

LESSON III.

A fork.
A cork.
A whip.
A ship.
A cock.
A clock.
A lark.
A spark.
A ring.
A king.
A crown.
A gown.
A nurse.
A purse.
A knight.
A fight.
A patch.
A match.
A port.
A fort.
A cord.
A lord.
A hair.
A pair.
A cause.
A pause.
A book.
A cook.
A voice.
A choice.
A house.
A mouse.
A green.
A queen.

Words of two Syllables, accented on the first Syllable.

LESSON IV.

Sum-mer.
Win-ter.
Sil-ver.
Din-ner.
Sup-per.
Let-ter.
Lin-net.
Par-rot.
Sis-ter.
Vir-gin.
Gar-den.
Wa-ter.
Mo-ment.
Li-on.
Tu-lip.

LESSON V.

Mu-sick.	Cor-al.
Pa-per.	Plan-et.
Ro-ver.	Wid-ow.
O-men.	Top-ick.
Po-et.	Daugh-ter.
Spi-der.	Fea-ther.
La-dy.	Grand-eur.
Ta-ble.	Schol-ar.
Cam-el.	Pleas-ure.
Vis-it.	Neigh-bour.
Hab-it.	Scis-sars.
Lim-it.	Mis-chief.
Met-al.	Shep-herd.
Shad-ow.	Laugh-ter.
Lin-en.	Guin-ea.
Mel-on.	Scep-tre.

Words of two Syllables, accented on the latter Syllable.

LESSON VI.

Ac-count.	A-dieu.
Ap-plause.	Bu-reau.
Con-ceit.	Ca-nal.
De-gree.	Cha-grin.
De-light.	Co-quet.
De-fence.	Fa-tigue.
De-spair.	Ga-zette.
Es-teem.	Gri-mace.
E-vent.	Ha-rangue.
Neg-lect.	Ma-chine.
Re-ceipt.	Ro-mance.
Re-mark.	Trus-tee.

Short Sentences, to be pronounced clearly and distinctly, with a full stop, and an interval of perfect silence, between them.

LESSON VII.

A black dog.
A white cat.
A red cow.
A bay horse.
An old hen.
A young chick.
A tall tree.
A green leaf.
A clear sky.
A fine day.
A good girl.
A new book.
An old song.
A bad pen.
A long stick.
A ripe grape.

LESSON VIII.

A sour plumb.
A hard pear.
A full purse.
A dear friend.
A good boy.
A young lord.
A wise prince.
A gilt coach.
A little town.
A country church.
A ruined abbey.
A stately tower.
An old castle.
A rural seat.
A splendid palace.
A royal park.
A flowery lawn.
A large orchard.
A fine garden.
A woody country.
A gloomy forest.
An aged oak.
A nodding beech.
A shady grove.
A rugged rock.
A high mountain.
A rapid river.
A crystal lake.
A fertile vale.
An early spring.
A hot summer.
A mild winter.
A flying cloud.
A gentle gale.
A whistling wind.
A gloomy sky.
A heavy shower.
A dreadful storm.

Short Sentences, to be pronounced clearly, distinctly, and fully, as before directed.

LESSON IX.

Rise early.
Say your prayers.
Make yourself clean.
Honour your parents.
Love your friends.
Oblige every one.
Speak the truth.
Cheat nobody.
Never be rude.
Never be idle.
Mind your book.
Strive to excel.
Do not read too fast.
Do not read in a hurry.
Do not speak violently.
Do not assume a rough tone.
Do not strain your voice.

Let the voice be supported, and the last words be pronounced briskly.

LESSON X.

Do not confine your breath.
Do not stop abruptly.
Avoid a mournful tone.
Avoid a whining cadence.
Avoid affectation.
Begin gently.
Speak openly.
Speak freely.

Speak clearly.
Speak fully.
Pronounce every syllable.
Go on smoothly.
Support your voice firmly.
Mind every stop.
Pause gently.
Relieve your voice at the points.
Let your tone be natural.
End with vivacity.

Words of three Syllables, accented on the first Syllable.

LESSON XI.

Al-der-man	Har-mo-ny
Al-ma-nack	Hap-pi-ness
An-i-mal	In-no-cence
Bar-o-net	Or-na-ment
But-ter-fly	Night-in-gale
Char-ac-ter	Par-a-dise
Com-pli-ment	Pi-e-ty
El-e-gance	Riv-u-let
Faith-ful-ness	Sol-i-tude
Grat-i-tude	Straw-ber-ry
Mad-ri-gal	Syc-o-phant
Ve-he-mence	Wil-der-ness

Accented on the second Syllable.	*Accented on the last Syllable.*

LESSON XII.

Ac-quaint-ance	Ac-qui-esce
A-gree-ment	Ap-pre-hend
A-part-ment	Car-a-van

Con-jec-ture
De-co-rum
Em-ploy-ment
Ho-ri-zon
I-de-a
In-chant-ment
In-dul-gence
Pre-cep-tor
Spec-ta-tor
Tri-bu-nal
Vice-ge-rent
Cav-al-cade
Cor-res-pond
En-ter-tain
In-tro-duce
Mag-a-zine
Mas-que-rade
Pal-i-sade
Vi-o-lin
Vol-un-teer

Words in which ce, ci, si, ti, *have nearly the sound of* sh.

LESSON XIII.

O-ce-an, or o-cean.
Speci-al.
Mu-sici-an, pronounced muzishan.
An-cient.
Sus-pici-on.
Gra-cious.
Man-sion.
Par-tial
Pa-tient
Op-tion.
Cap-tious.
Lei-sure.

In *leisure*, *su* has nearly the sound of *zhu*.

MORAL PRECEPTS.

LESSON XIV.

Pay your devotions to your Creator.
Do not spend your time in trifling.

Apply yourself to your book.
Obey your parents in all things.
Be guilty of no mean action.
Be always good-humoured.
Disdain to tell a lie.
Speak evil of no man.
Never be too positive.
Be modest in your assertions.
Govern your passions.
Never use your Maker's name in sport.

MORAL PRECEPTS.

LESSON XV.

You pray for your daily bread.
Your heavenly Parent supplies your wants.
Be thankful to him for his bounty.
Be temperate and sober.
Let not plenty lead you into excess.
Never pamper your appetite.
Encourage no fastidious humour.
Waste not what Heaven provides.
All wastefulness is sin.
"Gather up every fragment.
"Let nothing be lost."
These were the injunctions of our Saviour.

OF THE DEITY.

LESSON XVI.

God is love.
He is thy preserver.
He is thy father.
He is thy friend.
He is infinitely amiable.
We see his wisdom.

We hear his power.
We feel his mercy.
We taste his bounty.
We are his children.
Hallowed be his name.

OF THE DEITY.

LESSON XVII.

God made all things.
He is the fountain of life.
He preserves every creature.
He encircles the universe in his arms.
He is present in every region of nature.
He sees all our actions.
He knows our private thoughts.
He is the father of mercies.
He is the helper of the friendless.
His laws are wise and good.
His word is truth.
His works are infinite.

OF THE DEITY.

In the beautiful and sublime language of Scripture.

LESSON XVIII.

The Lord omnipotent reigneth.
His greatness is unsearchable.
He fills heaven and earth.
He only hath immortality.
He is clothed with majesty and honour.
His judgments are a great deep.
The earth is full of his goodness.
His tender mercies are over all his works.
His eyes are in every place.

All things are naked and open to his view.
In his presence is fulness of joy.
Holy and reverend is his name.

ON CHRISTIANITY.

LESSON XIX.

Our religion is a noble system.
The author was a divine person.
He proved his omnipotence by miracles.
He showed his omniscience by prophecies.
His discourses were the dictates of wisdom.
Goodness flowed from his lips.
He taught the purest morality.
He left us a perfect pattern.
He gave us a just notion of God.
He showed us the way of life.
He brought immortality to light.
He opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Of a COMMA.

In the following lessons, let the reader make a short pause at a comma; but let it be done with an easy and gentle inflection.

Above all, let him take care not to break the sentence into separate and independent parts, by dropping his voice in the middle.

Let the whole be pronounced with equal spirit and vivacity.

Sentences divided by a COMMA.

LESSON XX.

No art can be attained, but by diligence.

If you would be free from sin, avoid temptation.

Loose conversation operates on the soul, as poison does on the body.

Do to others, as you would have others do to you.

Be more ready to forgive, than to return an injury.

If you would be revenged on your enemies, let your life be blameless.

He must be utterly abandoned, who disregards the good opinion of the world.

Religion does not require a gloomy, but a cheerful aspect.

Your countenance will be agreeable, in proportion to the goodness of your heart.

Never give pain to any man, without a prospect of doing good.

Sentences divided by two or three COMMAS.

LESSON XXI.

As you value the approbation of Heaven, or the esteem of the world, cultivate the love of virtue.

Be armed with courage against thyself, against thy passions, and against flatterers.

Riches, honours, pleasures, steal away the heart from religion.

Forget not that the brightest part of thy life is nothing but a flower, which is almost as soon withered, as blown.

Prepare for thyself, by the purity of thy manners, and thy love of virtue, a place in the happy seats of peace.

Of a SEMICOLON.

Let the reader stop a little longer at this point, than at a comma, and relieve his voice; but at the same time keep it steadily supported.

Sentences divided by a SEMICOLON.

LESSON XXII.

Perform your duty faithfully; for this will procure you the blessing of heaven.

Make a proper use of your time; for the loss of it can never be retrieved.

Enjoy pleasure; but enjoy it with moderation.

Use no indecent language; for indecency is want of sense.

Sport not with pain and distress; nor use the meanest insect with wanton cruelty.

Be not proud; for pride is odious to God and man.

Never repine at your fortune; for this is the sign of an unthankful mind.

Envy not the appearance of happiness in any man; for you know not his secret griefs.

Murmur not at the afflictions you suffer; for afflictions may be blessings in disguise.

Of a Colon.

This point requires a pause, something longer than a semicolon; but not so complete a one as a period. Pronounce the words immediately before it steadily and firmly; and, as it were, *suspend* your voice for a moment, in such a manner, as to give the hearer a proper intimation, that the sentence is not completed.

Sentences divided by a Colon.

LESSON XXIII.

Apply thyself to learning: it will redound much to thy honour.

Read the Scriptures: they are the dictates of divine wisdom.

Fear God: he is thy creator and preserver.

Keep close to thy business: it will keep thee from wickedness, poverty, and shame.

Harbour no malice in thy heart: it will be a viper in thy bosom.

Do not despise human life: it is the gift of God.

Do not insult a poor man: his misery entitles him to pity.

All mankind want assistance: all therefore ought to assist.

Cherish a spirit of benevolence: it is a god-like virtue.

A tear is sometimes the indication of a noble mind: Jesus wept.

Of a PERIOD.

Here let the reader make a full stop, and take his breath with ease and freedom.

LESSON XXIV.

Truth is the basis of every virtue. It is the voice of reason. Let its precepts be religiously obeyed. Never transgress its limits. Every deviation from truth is criminal. Abhor a falsehood. Let your words be ingenuous. Sincerity possesses the most powerful charm. It acquires the veneration of mankind. Its path is security and peace. It is acceptable to the Deity. Blessed are the pure in heart.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS;

Which God, above three thousand years ago, delivered to Moses upon Mount Sinai, the people of Israel standing round about the mountain, and the mountain quaking and burning with fire, and a thick cloud resting upon the mountain, and the voice of a trumpet being heard exceeding loud, so that all the people that was in the camp trembled.—Exod. xix. 16.

I.

Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

II.

Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the

earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.

III.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

IV.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day: six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do: but the seventh is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

V.

Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI.

Thou shalt do no murder.

VII.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII.

Thou shalt not steal.

IX.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

A short History of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.

Eighteen hundred and seven years ago, Jesus Christ was born into the world at Bethlehem, a city of Judea. His birth was attended with several wonderful circumstances: his mother was a pure virgin: an angel appearing to a company of shepherds, declared to them that on that day was born a Saviour who was Christ the Lord: an extraordinary star was seen by certain wise men in the east, which guided them to the place where he was laid. He lived with his parents as a private person until he was thirty years of age: at which time he showed himself to his countrymen the Jews, and declared himself to be that extraordinary person of whom the prophets spake, and whom they had been long expecting; that he was sent amongst them by God; that he was the person appointed to judge the quick and the dead at the end of the world: that all mankind shall come forth again after their death, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation; that there will be no respect of persons: that men will be rewarded and punished in different degrees, every one according to the deeds done in the flesh.

He proved that God was with him, that what he said was true, and would actually come to pass, and that he was really the person he declared himself to be, by working various astonishing miracles, by healing all manner of diseases with a word, by making the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk, by restoring sight to persons born blind, by walking on the sea, by quieting a

storm, by feeding five thousand with a few loaves and fishes, and on three occasions by raising dead people to life again.—Wherever he went great multitudes gathered about him, and many became his disciples, amongst whom he chose twelve, who were to be his chief ministers, and whom he called Apostles. He taught the people every where that they should follow after substantial holiness of heart and conversation, as that which alone could bring them to heaven: he himself also affording, in his own behaviour, a perfect pattern of purity, innocence, devotion, charity, patience, resignation, humility, of entire obedience to the will of God, and of never-ceasing endeavours to do good.

After having thus publickly preached and taught for the space of three years, he was seized by the rulers of the Jews, and carried before Pontius Pilate, the Roman governour as a malefactor. Pontius Pilate, at the desire of the Jews, sentenced him to death; according to which sentence he was crucified: and after he was dead, his body was taken down from the cross by Joseph of Arimathea, and laid in a new sepulchre. On the third day, that is, the next day but one after his death, and upon the day answering to our Sunday, he arose again from the dead; was seen by, and conversed with, many of his disciples; his body was touched, handled, and examined by some of them, to show that he was not a spirit which they saw. This continued for the space of forty days after his resurrection; at the end of which, he was, in the presence of his apostles, lifted up to heaven, where he sits for ever at the right hand of God in power and glory.

After his ascension, his apostles went forth into all countries, teaching and preaching every where, that by believing in him, that is, by believing that he was sent from God; and by keeping his word, that is, by leading innocent, honest, and virtuous lives, and by cultivating pious, humane, and charitable dispositions, men should save their souls, when Christ cometh again to judge the world.

Some who attended upon our Saviour, wrote an account of what they had seen him do, and heard him speak; others recorded what they had heard related by those who were eye-witnesses of the fact, and had been present at his discourses. These accounts compose our Gospels. The apostles wrote letters of comfort and instruction to the churches or assemblies of Christians which they had converted, or which were formed in different parts of the country.—These letters are the Epistles in the New Testament.

The Prayer which our Lord Jesus Christ taught his disciples, commonly called the Lord's Prayer.

Our Father which art in heaven: hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Parable of the ungrateful Servant.

MATT. XVIII. 23—35.

The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, which would take an account of his servants.

And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents.

But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.

The servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt.

But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants which owed him a hundred pence: and he

laid hands upon him, and took him by the throat, saying, pay me that thou owest.

And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt.

So when his fellow-servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

Then his lord, after that he had called him, saith unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt because thou desiredst me.

Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee?

And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due to him.

So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye, from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.

Parable of the good Samaritan.

LUKE, x. 25—37.

And behold a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?

And he answering, said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?

And Jesus answering, said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.

And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him.

And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

And on the morrow when he departed, he took two pence and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go thou and do likewise.

Parable of the Prodigal Son.

LUKE, XV. 10—32.

Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

And he said, A certain man had two sons:

And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me: and he divided unto them his living.

And not many days after the younger son gathered all together and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into the fields to feed swine.

And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

And when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father have bread enough, and to spare, and I perish with hunger.

I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee,

And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

And he arose; and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

And the son said, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet.

And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:

For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

Now his elder brother was in the field; and when he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.

And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

And he said unto him, Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

And he was angry, and would not go in; therefore came his father out and entreated him.

And he answering, said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment, and yet thou never gavest me a kid that I might make merry with my friends.

But as soon as this thy son was come, who hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

It was meet that we should make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.

Parable of the Rich Man and his Goods.

LUKE, XII. 16—21.

And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully;

And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do because I have no room to bestow my fruits?

And he said, This will I do; I will pull down my barns and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.

And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years: take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee; then, whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?

So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich towards God.

Parable of the Pharisee and Publican.

LUKE, XVIII. 10—14.

Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a Publican.

The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this Publican.

I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.

And the Publican standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.

I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other; for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Story of the poor Widow.

MARK, XII. 41—44.

And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury; and many that were rich cast in much.

And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing.

And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasury.

For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living.

MATT. XXV. 31—46.

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory;

And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.

And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

Then the King shall say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

Then shall he also say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:

I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.

Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?

Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.

And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.

JOHN, v. 25—30.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live.

For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.

And hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.

Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice,

And shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life: and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.

ROM. II. 6—11.

God will render to every man according to his deeds:

To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life;

But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath,

Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile.

But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.

For there is no respect of persons with God.

GAL. v. 19—24.

Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,

Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies,

Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.

THE MOST IMPORTANT

TRUTHS AND DUTIES

OF

CHRISTIANITY STATED;

DESIGNED FOR THOSE IN THE LOWER STATIONS OF LIFE.

.....

The following little tract, after having been often and carefully read over, may be turned into an *exercise* for children, by making them prove the thing asserted in the upper part of the page, by the text of Scripture referred to underneath. For example, it is asserted in the second page, "*that God sees you every where, though you cannot see him;* and this sentence is marked with the letter *(f,)* which letter at the bottom points to the text, Psalm cxxxix. 7. "*Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?*" therefore, let the question and answer be framed as follows:

Question. How do you prove that God sees you every where?

Answer. From Psalm cxxxix. 7. "*Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?*"

And in like manner with the rest, by a little at a time.

THE MOST IMPORTANT TRUTHS, &c.

Doctrines or Truths to be believed.

1. You are to believe that there is a God infinitely great and glorious (*a*); that he is a Spirit, who fills heaven and earth (*b*); that he created you (*c*); that he preserves you (*d*); that he provides for you daily (*e*); that he sees you every where, though you cannot see him (*f*); that he remembers all your behaviour (*g*); and that he is holy and just as well as good (*h*).

2. You are to believe in Jesus Christ (*i*); that he is the Son of God (*k*); that by a generation, which none can declare, he is the only begotten Son of God: "*Who shall declare his generation?*" Isa. liii. 8; and that by an union, which can neither be explained nor conceived, he was one with the Father, "*the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.*" Heb. 1. 3.—that he came

TEXTS.

1. (*a*) The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament showeth his handy-work: Psal. xix. 1. Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host; the earth, and all things that are therein; the seas, and all that is therein; and thou preservest them all, and the host of heaven worshippeth thee: Nehem. ix. 6.—(*b*) God is a spirit: John, iv. 24. Can any hide himself in secret places, that I shall not see him? saith the Lord: do I not fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord: Jer. xxiii. 24.—(*c*) The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul: Gen. ii. 7.—(*d*) Thou preservest man and beast: Psal. xxxvi 6.—(*e*) Give us this day our daily bread: Matt. vi. 11.—(*f*) Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? Psal. cxxxix. 7. God dwelleth in the light, which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, or can see: 1 Tim. vi. 16.—(*g*) A book of remembrance was written before the Lord, for them that feared him, and thought upon his name: Mal. iii. 16.—(*h*) Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: Rev. xv. 3, 4.

2. (*i*) This is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ: 1 John, iii. 23.—(*k*) Simon Peter answered and

down from heaven (*l*); that he was made in the likeness of man (*m*); that he was a teacher sent from God (*n*); that he lived a life of perfect holiness (*o*); that he suffered death on the cross, that he might make an atonement for sin, and reconcile sinners to God (*p*); that Christ now lives in heaven, pleading for penitent sinners (*q*); that all our hope of salvation must be placed in him (*r*);—and that he is the Author of salvation to all who obey him (*s*).

3. You are to believe in the Holy Spirit (*t*); you are not to grieve him by any sin (*u*); you are to believe that you may be made holy and fit for heaven by his influences on your heart, if you sincerely seek them (*w*); that you may not be deceived, consider well the *fruits of the Spirit, which are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance.* Gal. v. 22, 23. See Ephes. v. 9.

TEXTS.

said, thou art Christ the Son of the living God: Matt. xvi. 16.—(*l*) I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me: John, vi. 38.—(*m*) See Phil. ii. 7.—(*n*) Thou art a teacher come from God: John, iii. 2.—(*o*) He did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: 1 Pet. ii. 22.—(*p*) We were reconciled to God by the death of his Son: Rom. v. 10. He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity: Titus, ii. 14.—(*q*) Seeing that we have a great High Priest, who is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession: for we have not an High Priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities: Heb. iv. 14, 15. He is able also to save them to the uttermost, who come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them: Heb. vii. 25.—(*r*) In hope of eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised: Titus, i. 2.—(*s*) He became the author of eternal salvation, unto all them that obey him: Heb. v. 9.

3. (*t*) I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever: even the Spirit of truth: John, xiv. 16, 17. Your heavenly Father shall give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him: Luke, xi. 13.—(*u*) Grieve not the holy Spirit of God: Ephes. iv. 30.—(*w*) Such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God: 1 Cor. vi. 11. As many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God. Rom. viii. 14.

4. You are to believe, that you are an immortal creature, and must be happy or miserable for ever (*x*); that you are a sinful creature, exposed to the righteous judgment of God for your sins (*y*); that you must repent, be converted, and become sincerely holy, or you will die in your sins (*z*).

5. You are to believe, that God will accept all sincere penitents (*a*); will love you, if you obey him (*b*); and that he will be angry with you, if you disobey him (*c*).

6. You are to believe, that there is another state and world after this; that the soul of man does not die with the body (*d*); that God will raise you at last (*e*); that there is a day of judgment (*f*); that the good shall go into heaven, a place of happiness, and the wicked shall go into hell, a place of misery (*g*).

TEXTS.

4. (*x*) Then shall the dust return to the earth, as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God, who gave it: Eccles. xii. 7.—(*y*) Know thou, that God will bring thee to judgment? Eccles. xi. 19.—Every mouth shall be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God: Rom. iii. 9.—(*z*) Repent ye, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord: Acts, iii. 19. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: Heb. xii. 14.

5. (*a*) Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance: Luke, v. 32.—(*b*) I love them, saith God, that love me: Prov. viii. 17. If a man love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him: John, xiv. 23. Obey my voice, and do according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God: Jer. xi. 4.—(*c*) God is angry with the wicked every day: Psal. vii. 11.

6. (*d*) This mortal must put on immortality: 1 Cor. xv. 53.—(*e*) The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised: 1 Cor. xv. 52—(*f*) We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad: 2 Cor. v. 10.—(*g*) The wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal: Matt. xxv. 46.

Precepts or Things to be practised.

1. *Duties to God.*—You are to worship God in spirit and in truth (*h*). You are daily to pray to him in secret for what you want (*i*). You are to praise God, and give him thanks for his mercies (*k*); such as your health, food, raiment, and friends; especially the Bible, and divine ordinances.—You are to love him (*l*); to fear him (*m*): to obey him (*n*); to trust in him (*o*); to be patient and submissive to his will (*p*).

2. *Duties to Christ.*—You are to exercise faith in him (*q*), as the Saviour of the world, the great Mediator (*r*), "*The King of kings, and Lord of lords*, Rev. xvii. 14. *to whom all power is given in heaven, and in earth*," Matt. xxviii. 18. You are to reverence him (*s*), to trust in him (*t*), and rejoice in him as your atoning sacrifice (*u*), to obey

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1 (*h*) God is a spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth: John, iv. 24.—(*i*) When thou prayest, enter into thy closet; and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly: Matt. vi. 6.—(*k*) Praising and giving thanks to the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever: Ezra, iii. 11.—(*l*) Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: Matt. xxii. 37.—(*m*) Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God: Deut. vi. 13.—The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: Prov. ix. 10.—(*n*) Thou shalt diligently hearken to the Lord thy God, and do that which is right in his sight, and keep all his statutes: Exod. xv. 26.—Christ will be revealed from heaven to take vengeance on them who obey not the Gospel: 2 Thess. i. 8.—(*o*) Trust in the Lord with all thine heart: in all thy ways acknowledge him: Prov. iii. 5.—(*p*) Thy will be done: Matt. vi. 10.—In patience possess ye your souls: Luke, xxi. 10.

2. (*q*) I live by the faith of the Son of God: Gal. ii. 20.—(*r*) There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man: 1 Tim. ii. 5. God sent his Son to bless us: Acts, iii. 26.—(*s*) The love of Christ constraineth us: 2 Cor. v. 14.—(*t*) Blessed are they that put their trust in him: Ps. ii. 12.—(*u*) We joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom

him (*w*), and to imitate his example (*x*), "*The same mind shall be in you which was in* Jesus Christ."

3. *Duties to men.*—You are to speak truth always (*a*); to be diligent in your proper business (*b*); doing justice (*c*), and showing mercy (*d*); to be honest (*e*); friendly and kind to all (*f*); you are to obey your rulers (*g*), parents (*h*), masters (*i*), and other superiours, in all their lawful commands.

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we have now received the atonement: Rom. v. 11.—(*w*) He is the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him: Heb. v. 9.—(*x*) He left us an example that we should follow his steps: 1 Pet. ii. 21. This example of Christ should be imitated, especially in the following particulars: his early piety: Luke, ii. 46.—His obedience to his parents: Luke, ii. 51.—His unwearied zeal to do good: Acts, x. 38.—His humility and lowliness of mind: Matt. xi. 29.—His contentment in a low condition: Luke, ix. 58. and his eminent self-denial.—He submitted to the mean occupation of a carpenter, to provide for himself, and the family to which he was related: Mark, vi. 8.—His serious and frequent performance of the duty of private prayer: Mark, i. 35. Luke, vi. 12. and of thanksgiving: Matt. xi. 25. John, xi. 14.—His patience under sufferings and reproaches, 1 Pet. ii. 23. and his readiness to forgive injuries: Luke, xxiii. 34.—His laying to heart the sins, as well as the sufferings of others: Mark, iii. 5.—His zeal for the publick worship of God, and attendance on it: John, ii, 17.—His cheerful submission to his heavenly Father's will: Matt. xxvi. 39.—His love and practice of holiness, and obedience both in heart and life: Luke, iv. 34.

3. (*a*) Putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: Ephes. iv. 25.—(*b*) Let him labour, working with his own hands: 1 Cor. iv. 12.—Working with his own hands the thing that is good: Ephes. iv. 28.—Six days shall ye labour: Exod. xx. 9.—(*c*) Render to all their due: Rom. xiii. 7.—(*d*) Shew mercy with cheerfulness: Rom. xii. 8.—(*e*) Ye should do that which is honest: 2 Cor. xiii. 7.—(*f*) Be kind one to another, tender-hearted: Ephes. iv. 32.—(*g*) Honour the king: 1 Pet. ii 17.—Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: Heb xiii. 17.—(*h*) Honour thy father and thy mother: Exod. xx. 12.—Ye shall fear, every man, his mother and his father: Lev. xix. 3.—My son, hear the instructions of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother: Prov. i. 8.—Solomon rose up to meet his mother, and bowed himself to her, and set her on his right hand. 1 Kings, ii. 19.—Jesus was subject to his parents: Luke, ii. 5.—(*i*) Servants obey in all things your masters: Eph. vi. 5.

4. *Duties to your families.*—You are to provide and lay up for your families (*k*); to take care of your children's bodies, to render them healthful, and breed them up so as to support themselves—and have a regard to their souls (*l*); to pray for them and with them daily (*m*), and to have them taught to read and pray, and to be instructed in religious principles (*n*).—You are, moreover, to reprove every thing sinful and unbecoming in them. (*o*).

5. *Duties to yourselves.*—Set a constant guard on your passions; especially anger (*p*): and avoid all the sinful lusts of the flesh (*q*); be sober (*r*), chaste (*s*), and diligent (*t*); bridle your tongues (*u*), and strive to grow wiser and better every day (*w*).

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4. (*k*) If any provide not for his own, and especially for his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse that an infidel: 1 Timothy, vi. 8.—(*l*) Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: Ephes. vi. 4.—(*m*) O Lord, give unto Solomon, my son, a perfect heart to keep thy commandments: 1 Chron. xxix 19.—(*n*) These things shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children: Deut. iv. 6, 7.—(*o*) Chasten thy son while there is hope; (but as some translate it), be not transported or in a passion to cause him to die: Prov. xix. 18.—But correct him with moderation, justice, and tenderness.—Ye fathers, provoke not [by improper corrections] your children to wrath: Ephes. vi. 4.

5. (*p*) He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that ruleth a city: Prov. xvi. 32.—(*q*) Abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul: 1 Pet. ii. 11.—(*r*) Let us watch and be sober: 1 Thess. v. 6.—(*s*) Be discreet, chaste: Titus, ii. 5.—Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge: Heb. xii. 4.—(*t*) The hand of the diligent maketh rich: Prov. x. 4.—The soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing; but the soul of the diligent shall be made fat: Prov. xiii. 4.—Be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace: 2 Pet. iii. 14.—(*u*) If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, that man's religion is vain: James, i. 26.—(*w*) Let us go on unto our perfection: Heb. vi. 1.

SHORT HEADS.

OF

SELF-EXAMINATION.

Would you know whether you believe, and live as a Christian ought to do, ask yourself these questions.

Do I believe in God?

Do I believe that he is a Being of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness? that he made and preserves every thing? that he is present every where? and knows all the thoughts and intentions of my heart?

Do I believe the holy Scriptures to be the word of God; and that they contain all things necessary to salvation?

Do I believe in Jesus Christ? that he suffered death for the sins of mankind? and do I expect salvation through his merits?

Do I believe that God will assist me by his Holy Spirit?

Do I believe in a future state? the resurrection of the dead? and a last judgment?

Is my life consistent with my faith?

Doth my belief in the power and wisdom of God, make me afraid of offending him: and give me patience and resignation in my distresses?

Doth my belief in his goodness excite me to love him: and to be thankful to him for his mercies?—and

Do I feel that my belief of his continual presence is a check upon the badness of my thoughts, words, and actions?

Do I read the holy Scriptures with an intention to improve my heart; and obey the precepts which I find in them?

Do I abstain from swearing, lying, drinking, cheating, envy, malice, obscene actions and discourse, and every thing which my own conscience tells me is wrong, and which the word of God tells me is inconsistent with my salvation?

If I am led into sin, do I immediately repent of it, and not suffer it to become habitual?

Do I love my neighbour as myself: that is, am I as ready to do good to him as to receive good from him?—and do to others as I might reasonably desire them to do to me?

Do I endeavour to do my duty faithfully, whatever my station is, whether it be to obey my parents, to serve my master, or to maintain and instruct my family?

Upon the whole, do I find myself increase in goodness? that is, do I feel a pleasure in obeying God, and doing my duty? knowing that the life of a Christian should always be advancing towards perfection?

Do I pray daily to Almighty God; and beg that he will be pleased to assist these endeavours by his Holy Spirit, knowing that without his assistance I can do nothing? and that his assistance is only to be obtained by prayer, and my own earnest endeavours?

Do I go regularly to church, to pray to God in publick as well as in private, and to hear the holy Scriptures read and explained? and do I endeavour to remember what I hear, and to live up to it?

Lastly, Does my belief in a future state, and in the resurrection of the dead, raise my thoughts above this mortal life? and does my belief in a last judgment, make me in earnest careful to prepare myself for it?

THE CHURCH CATECHISM.

To be learned by heart by every little Boy *and* Girl, *before they are brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.*

Q. What is your name?
A. *N.* or *M.*
Q. Who gave you that name?

A. My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

Q. What did your godfathers and godmothers then for you?

A. They did promise and vow three things in my name. First, that I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Secondly, that I should believe all the articles of the Christian faith. And thirdly, that I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life.

Q. Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe and to do as they have promised for thee?

A. Yes, verily; and by God's help, so I will. And I heartily thank my heavenly Father that he hath called me to this state of salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. And I pray unto God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.

Rehearse the Articles of thy Belief.

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: he descended into hell: the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. *Amen.*

Q. What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief?

A. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world: Secondly, in God the

Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind: Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.

Q. You say that your godfathers and godmothers did promise for you, that you should keep God's commandments; tell me how many there be?

A. Ten.

Q. Which be they?

A. The same which God spake in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, saying, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. *See the Commandments in pages* 270, 271, *and* 272.

Q. What dost thou chiefly learn by these commandments?

A. I learn two things; my duty towards God, and my duty towards my neighbour.

Q. What is thy duty towards God?

A. My duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength; to worship him; to give him thanks; to put my whole trust in him; to call upon him; to honour his holy name and word, and to serve him truly all the days of my life.

Q. What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?

A. My duty towards my neighbour is to love him as myself, and to do unto all men as I would they should do unto me. To love, honour, and succour, my father and mother. To honour and obey the king, and all that are put in authority under him. To submit myself unto all my governours, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters. To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. To hurt nobody by word or deed. To be true and just in all my dealings. To bear no malice nor hatred in my heart. To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil speaking, lying, and slandering. To keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. Not

to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me.

Q. My good child, know this, that thou art not able to do these things of thyself, nor to walk in the commandment of thy God, and to serve him, without his special grace, which thou must learn at all times to call for by diligent prayer. Let me hear, therefore, if thou canst say the Lord's Prayer.

A. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Q. What desirest thou of God in this prayer?

A. I desire my Lord God, our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me and to all people, that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him, as we ought to do. And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies; and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins; and that it will please him to save and defend us, in all dangers ghostly and bodily: and that he will keep us from all sins and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death. And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore I say *Amen:* So be it.

Q. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?

A. Two only, as generally necessary to salvation; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Q. What meanest thou by this word sacrament?

A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.

Q. How many parts are there in a sacrament?

A. Two; the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Q. What is the outward visible sign, or form in baptism?

A. Water wherein the person is baptized, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Q. What is the inward and spiritual grace?

A. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness: For being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.

Q. What is required of persons to be baptized?

A. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.

Q. Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them?

A. Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.

Q. Why was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?

A. For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.

Q. What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?

A. Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

Q. What is the inward part or thing signified?

A. The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

Q. What are the benefits whereof we are made partakers thereby?

A. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

Q. What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?

A. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.

The Sum of Religion, written by Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England.

He that fears the Lord of heaven and earth, walks humbly before him, thankfully lays hold of the message of redemption by Jesus Christ, strives to express his thankfulness by the sincerity of his obedience; is sorry with all his soul when he comes short of his duty; walks watchfully in the denial of himself, and holds no confederacy with any lust or known sin; if he falls in the least measure, he who is restless till he has made his peace by true repentance; he who is true to his promise, just in his dealings, charitable to the poor, sincere in his devotions—that will not deliberately dishonour God, although with the greatest security of impunity: he that hath his hope and his conversation in heaven; he that dares not do an unjust act although never so much to his advantage; and all this because he sees Him that is invisible, and fears him because he loves him; fears him as well for his goodness as his greatness: Such a man, whatever be his sect or profession, or by whatever religious name he calls himself, or is called by others, he hath *the life of religion* in him, and that life acts in him, and will conform his soul to the image of his Saviour, and go along with him to eternity, notwithstanding his practice or non-practice of many indifferent things.

On the other side, if a man fears not the eternal God, dares commit any sin with presumption, can drink to excess, lie, swear vainly or falsely, live loosely, break his

promises; such a man, though he practise every ceremony never so curiously, notwithstanding a thousand external conformities, or zealous opposition to them, he wants *the life of religion.*

A Morning Prayer.

O Almighty God, who hast made all things in heaven and earth, and hast given thy Son Jesus Christ to die upon the cross for me and for all mankind, make me truly thankful for thy goodness towards me; sanctify me by thy Holy Spirit, and enable me to do all things which thou hast commanded. Glory be to thee for having brought me to the beginning of this day: defend me in it from all sin and danger; let me not take thy holy name in vain, nor speak any words that may offend thee; let me not steal, nor cheat, nor any way hurt or grieve my neighbour, but grant that I may do unto all men as I would they should do unto me. [Grant that I may honour my father and mother.] Keep me from lying and evil speaking, from anger, fretfulness, and stubbornness, from strife and quarrelling, from envy, spite, and malice, and from all uncharitableness. Make me modest in my behaviour and conversation; cleanse the thoughts of my heart; keep me from pride, and sloth, and idleness, from gluttony and drunkenness; and grant me all such tempers of mind as will make me happy in life and in death. Bless my friends and relations. [particularly my father and mother, my brothers and sister], for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

A Morning and Evening Prayer, for a Child from four or five, to nine or ten years old.

Merciful God and Father, who art in heaven, look down I beseech thee on an helpless child: incline mine

heart to remember, love, and serve thee; and keep me from every evil thought, word, and deed. Enable me to do to others, as I would they should do to me. May I grow in wisdom as I grow in stature, and be in favour with God and man. Make me dutiful to my parents, loving to all my relations, obedient to my teachers, and always in a disposition to hear advice, and receive instructions. Preserve me this day (or this night) from every danger, and grant all my humble petitions, for the sake of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, in whom alone I can be accepted.

Our Father which art, &c.—May the grace, &c.

An Evening Prayer for a Child from four to eight Years old.

O Lord God, who knowest all things, thou seest me by night as well as by day: I pray thee, for Christ's sake, forgive me whatsoever I have done amiss this day, and keep me safe all this night while I am asleep. I desire to lie down under thy care, and to abide for ever under thy blessing, for thou art a God of all power and everlasting mercy.

Bless my friends as well as myself. Do good to them at all times, and in all places, and help me always to serve them in love.

And when I have done thy will here by thy grace assisting me, and enjoyed thy blessings on earth, then give my soul a place in heaven to dwell with thee there, and with thy Son Jesus Christ: for heaven and earth, and all things in them, are thine for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Our Father which art, &c.—May the grace, &c.

DIVINE SONGS.

Against Lying.

O 'tis a lovely thing for youth,
To walk betimes in wisdom's way,
To fear a lie, to speak the truth,
That we may trust to all they say.

But liars we can never trust,
Though they should speak the thing that's true,
And he that does one fault at first,
And lies to hide it, makes it two.

Have we not known, or heard, or read,
How God abhors deceit and wrong?
How Ananias was struck dead,
Catch'd with a lie upon his tongue?

So did his wife Sapphira die,
When she came in and grew so bold,
As to confirm that wicked lie
That just before her husband told.

The Lord delights in them that speak
The words of truth; but ev'ry liar
Must have his portion in the lake
That burns with brimstone and with fire.

Then let me always watch my lips,
Lest I be struck to death and hell,
Since God a book of reckoning keeps
For every lie that children tell.

Heaven and Hell.

There is beyond the sky
A heaven of joy and love,
And holy children, when they die,
Go to that world above.

There is a dreadful hell,
And everlasting pains,
Where sinners must with devils dwell
In darkness, fire, and chains.

Can such a wretch as I,
  Escape this cursed end;
And may I hope, whene'er I die
  I shall to heaven ascend?

Then will I read and pray,
  While I have life and breath;
Lest I should be cut off to day,
  And sent to' eternal death.

We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad, 2 Cor. v. 10.—The wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into eternal life: Matt. xxv. 46.

General Directions in order to the leading a Godly and a Christian Life.

Begin every day with God, and go not out of thy chamber before thou hast performed thy bounden duty of prayer and thanksgiving.

Walk all the day long in the fear of God: wherever thou art, or whatsoever thou doest, bear this in mind, "That thy Maker is present with thee, and spieth out all thy ways." Exert thy reason to the keeping under thy passions and vicious inclinations, and bringing them into subjection to the law of God.

Remember, that thy virtue consists in the due government of thy corrupt affections.

This is the trial to which thou art called; and the prize contended for is no less than immortality and eternal life!

Shun idleness, in whatever station of life thou art; and know that it is the part of a wise man to have always something to do.

Avoid the common, but odious, vices of slander thy tale-bearing: strive to live in peace with all men, a Jesus cultivate in thyself a meek, courteous, and benevo'
position of mind.

Speak the truth upon all occasions without dissimulation; be sincere and upright in all thy conversation: for he is a *Christian indeed, in whom is no guile.*

In all thy concerns with others, be they little or much, let this be the constant rule and measure of all thine actions: *Whatsoever thou wouldest that men should do unto thee, even so do thou unto them.*

In every time of tribulation think upon God, and his gracious promise, "That all things shall work together for good to them that love and serve him."

If thou art an householder, call thy whole family together, at least every evening, to join in their common supplications to Him, *in whom they live, and move, and have their being.*

If thou art a child or a servant, endeavour to be always within at the time of family prayer.

Never lay thyself down to rest before thou hast prayed in private, and recommended thyself to the divine protection.

Always say grace before and after meals.

Directions for the Lord's Day.

Be sure to spend the Lord's day well, as you desire to prosper in the following week.

Make all your children and servants go with you to your own parish church; and suffer them not to wander to other churches.

Stay not from church either part of the day, unless in cases of sickness or great necessity.

Never go a journey, or take physick, on the Lord's Day, unless in cases of great necessity.

Take care not to come too late to church; be always re, if possible, before divine service begins.

en you first come into your seat at church, always n your knees and use a short prayer; do the same ut.

Always kneel in the time of prayer. Do not give way to sleep, or wandering thoughts.

Make your answers after the ministers, not in a gabbling or careless manner, but with seriousness and reverence.

Frequent not houses of publick resort on the Lord's Day: after divine service is over, spend the remainder of the Sabbath in reading godly books, and recollecting what thou hast heard at church.

A Prayer for a young Scholar.

O Lord God Almighty, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, I look up to Thee, beseeching Thee to direct, assist, and bless all my endeavours after useful knowledge. Enlighten my understanding, O Father of lights, preserve me from errour, and lead me into a right apprehension of all things: dispose me to be diligent in whatever business or profession thy good providence shall call me to: endue me with that humility and soberness of mind, which thou delightest to reward. Bestow on me a sound judgment, and an honest and good heart, sincerely desirous to please Thee; that I may be a comfort to my friends, and a worthy member of Christ's church. Enrich my mind with the treasures of thine inspired wisdom, contained in those holy Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation. Let these be my rule and guide in passing through things temporal, that I may not fail to attain the things that are eternal, through the merits of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Grace before Meat.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, this provision of thy goodness to our use and nourishment, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Grace after Meat.

Most gracious God, make us, we pray thee, truly thankful for this present refreshment, and for all thy blessings bestowed upon us, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Questions and Answers out of the Holy Scriptures.

Q. Who was the first man?

A. Adam.

Q. Who was the first woman?

A. Eve.

Q. Of what did God make man?

A. Out of the dust of the earth.

Q. Of what did God make woman?

A. Of one of the man's ribs.

Q. Where did Adam and Eve dwell?

A. In Paradise.

Q. What cast Adam out of Paradise?

A. Sin.

Q. Who was the best man?

A. The man Christ Jesus.

Q. Who slew his brother?

A. Cain.

Q. Who was the first martyr?

A. Abel.

Q. Who was the oldest man?

A. Methuselah.

Q. Who was the man that God saved when he drowned the world?

A. Noah.

Q. Who wrestled with God?

A. Jacob.

Q. What was his name called after he had wrestled with God?

A. Israel.

THE

CLERGYMAN'S COMPANION

IN

VISITING THE SICK:

Containing,

I. RULES FOR VISITING THE SICK.

II. THE OFFICE FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

III. THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

IV. A GREAT VARIETY OF OCCASIONAL PRAYERS FOR THE SICK;

COLLECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT DIVINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE OFFICES OF PUBLICK AND PRIVATE BAPTISM.

WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.

PREFACE.

THIS collection has been so much esteemed, that it has passed through nine editions. Having now become exceedingly scarce, it was thought proper to reprint it.

The Rules for visiting the Sick, in five sections, are extracted chiefly from the works of Bishop Taylor. The Occasional Prayers are taken from the devotional tracts of Bishop Patrick, Mr. Kettlewell, and other pious and judicious divines. But in this Edition, the antiquated style of those writers is corrected and improved; at the same time, a spirit of rational piety, and unaffected simplicity, are carefully preserved.

A prayer by Dr. Stonehouse, and four by Mr. Merrick, the celebrated translator of the Psalms, are added to the old collection.

The Offices of Publick and Private Baptism, though no ways relating to the Visitation of the Sick, are retained; as, in the present form, they will be convenient for the Clergy in the course of their parochial duty.

CANON LXVII.

MINISTERS TO VISIT THE SICK.

When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the minister or curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him, or her (if the disease be not known or probably suspected to be infectious), to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of Communion, if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.

THE MANNER

OF

VISITING THE SICK;

OR,

THE ASSISTANCE THAT IS TO BE GIVEN TO SICK AND DYING PERSONS BY THE MINISTRY OF THE CLERGY.

SECTION. I.

In all the days of our spiritual warfare, from our baptism to our burial, God has appointed his servants the ministers of the church, to supply the necessities of the people, by ecclesiastical duties; and prudently to guide, and carefully to judge concerning, souls committed to their charge.

And, therefore, they who all their life-time derive blessings from the Fountain of Grace, by the channels of ecclesiastical ministries, ought then more especially to do it in the time of their sickness, when their needs are more prevalent, according to that known apostolical injunction; "Is any man sick among you, let him send for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him," &c.

The sum of the duties and offices, respectively implied in these words, may be collected from the following rules.

SECTION II.

Rules for the Manner of Visiting the Sick.

1. Let the minister be sent to, not when the sick is in the agonies of death, as it is usual to do, but before his

sickness increases too much upon him: for when the soul is confused and disturbed by the violence of the distemper, and death begins to stare the man in the face, there is little reason to hope for any good effect from the spiritual man's visitation. For how can any regular administration take place, when the man is all over in a disorder? how can he be called upon to confess his sins, when his tongue falters, and his memory fails him? how can he receive any benefit by the prayers which are offered up for him, when he is not able to give attention to them? or how can he be comforted upon any sure grounds of reason or religion, when his reason is just expiring, and all his notions of religion together with it? or when the man, perhaps, had never any real sentiments of religion before?

It is, therefore, a matter of sad consideration, that the generality of the world look upon the minister, in the time of their sickness, as the sure forerunner of death; and thinks his office so much relates to another world, that he is not to be treated with, as long as there is any hope of living in this. Whereas it is highly requisite the minister be sent for, when the sick person is able to be conversed with and instructed; and can understand, or be taught to understand, the case of his soul, and the rules of his conscience, and all the several bearings of religion, with respect to God, his neighbour, and himself. For to prepare a soul for its change is a work of great difficulty; and the intercourses of the minister with the sick have so much variety in them, that they are not to be transacted at once. Sometimes there is need of special remedies against impatience, and the fear of death; not only to animate, but to make the person desirous and willing to die. Sometimes it is requisite to awaken the conscience by "the terrours of the Lord:" to open, by degrees, all the labyrinths of sin

(those innumerable windings and turnings which insensibly lead men into destruction), which the habitual sensualist can never be able to discover, unless directed by the particular grace of God, and the assistance of a faithful and judicious guide. Sometimes there is need of the balm of comfort, to pour in "oil and wine" (with the good Samaritan) into the bleeding wound, by representing the tender mercies of God, and the love of his Son Jesus Christ, to mankind: and at other times it will be necessary to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine:" so that a clergyman's duty, in the visitation of the sick, is not over at once: but at one time he must pray; at another, he must assist, advise, and direct: at another, he must open to him the nature of repentance, and exhort him to a confession of his sins, both to God and man, in all those cases which require it; and, at another time, he must give him absolution, and the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord.

And, indeed, he that ought to watch all the periods of his life, in the days of his health, lest he should be surprised and overcome, had need, when he is sick, be assisted and called upon, and reminded of the several parts of his duty in every instant of his temptation.

The want of this makes the visitations of the clergy fruitless, because they are not suffered to imprint those proper effects upon the sick, which are needful in so important a ministration.

2. When the minister is come, let him discourse concerning the causes of sickness, and by a general argument move him to a consideration of his condition. Let him call upon him first, in general terms, "to set his house in order," "to trim and adorn his lamp," and "to prepare himself for another world;" and then let him perform the custom-

ary duties of prayer, and afterwards descend to all other particulars, as occasion shall offer, and circumstances require.

3. According to the condition of the man, and the nature of his sickness, every act of the visitation is to be proportioned. If his condition be full of pain and infirmity, the exhortation ought to be shorter, and the minister more "instant in prayer:" and the little service the sick man can do for himself, should be supplied by the charitable care of his guide, who is in such a case to speak more to God for him than to talk to him: "prayer of the righteous," when it is "fervent," hath a promise to "prevail much in behalf of the sick" person: but exhortations must prevail by their own proper weight, and not by the passion of the speaker; and, therefore, should be offered when the sick is able to receive them. And even in this assistance of prayer, if the sick man joins with the minister, the prayers should be short, fervent, and ejaculatory, apt rather to comply with his weak condition, than wearisome to his spirits, in tedious and long offices. But in case it appears he hath sufficient strength to go along with the minister, he is then more at liberty to offer up long petitions for him.

After the minister hath made this preparatory entrance to this work of much time and deliberation, he may descend to the particulars of his duty, in the following method.

SECTION III.

Of instructing the sick Man in the Nature of Repentance, and Confession of his sins.

The first duty to be rightly stated to the sick man, is that of repentance; in which the minister cannot be more serviceable to him, than by laying before him a regular

scheme of it, and exhorting him at the same time to a free and ingenuous declaration of the state of his soul. For unless they know the manner of his life, and the several kinds and degrees of those sins, which require his penitential sorrow, or restitution, either they can do nothing at all, or nothing of advantage and certainty. Wherefore the minister may move him to this in the following manner.

Arguments and Exhortations to move the sick Man to Repentance, and Confession of his sins.

1. That repentance is a duty indispensably necessary to salvation. That to this end, all the preachings and endeavours of the prophets and apostles are directed. That our Saviour "came down from heaven," on purpose "to call sinners to repentance*." That as it is a necessary duty at all times, so more especially in the time of sickness, when we are commanded in a particular manner to "set our house in order." That it is a work of great difficulty, consisting in general of a "change of mind," and a "change of life." Upon which account it is called in scripture, "a state of regeneration, or new birth;" a "conversion from sin to God;" a "being renewed in the spirit of our minds;" a "putting off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts of the flesh," and a "putting on the new man, which is created in righteousness and true holiness." That so great a change as this is not to be effected at once, but requires the utmost self-denial and resolution to put it in execution, consisting in general of the following particulars:—1. A sorrowful sense of our sins: 2. An humble confession of them: 3. An unfeigned abhorrence and forsaking of them, and turning to

* Matt. ix. 13.

the Lord our God with all our hearts: 4. A patient continuance in well-doing to the end of our lives.

These are the constituent and essential parts of a true repentance; which may severally be displayed from the following motives of reason and Scripture, as opportunity shall serve, and the sick man's condition permit.

The first part of a true repentance is a sorrowful sense of our sins, which naturally produceth this good effect, as we may learn from St. Paul (2 Cor. vii. 10.), where he tells us, that "godly sorrow worketh repentance." Without it, to be sure, there can be no such thing; for, how can a man repent of that which he is not sorry for? or how can any one sincerely ask pardon and forgiveness for what he is not concerned or troubled about?

A sorrowful sense, then, of our sins, is the first part of a true repentance, the necessity whereof may be seen from the grievous and abominable nature of sin; as, 1. That it made so wide a separation betwixt God and man, that nothing but the blood of his only-begotten Son could suffice to atone for its intolerable guilt: 2. That it carries along with it the basest ingratitude, as being done against our heavenly Father, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being:" 3. That the consequence of it is nothing less than eternal ruin, in that "the wrath of God is revealed against all impenitent sinners;" and "the wages of sin is death,"—not only temporal but eternal.

From these and the like considerations, the penitent may further learn, that to be sorry for our sins is a great and important duty. That it does not consist in a little trivial concern, a superficial sigh, or tear, or a calling ourselves sinners, &c.; but in a real, ingenuous, pungent, and afflicting sorrow: for, can that which cast our parents out of Paradise at first, that brought down the Son of God after-

wards from heaven, and put him at last to such a cruel and shameful death, be now thought to be done away by a single tear or a groan? Can so base a piece of ingratitude, as rebelling against the Lord of glory, who gives us all we have, be supposed to be pardoned by a slender submission? Or can that which deserves the torment of hell, be sufficiently atoned for by a little indignation and superficial remorse?

True repentance, therefore, is ever accompanied with a deep and afflicting sorrow; a sorrow that will make us so irreconcileable to sin, as that we shall choose rather to die than to live in it. For so the bitterest accents of grief are all ascribed to a true repentance in Scripture; such as a "weeping sorely," or "bitterly;" a "weeping day and night;" a "repenting in dust and ashes;" a "putting on sackcloth;" "fasting and prayer;" &c. Thus holy David: "I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long, and that by reason of mine iniquities, which are gone over my head, and, as a heavy burden, are too heavy for me to bear:" Ps. xxxviii. 4. 6. Thus Ephraim could say: "After that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth:" Jer. xxxi. 19.

And this is the proper satisfaction for sin which God expects, and hath promised to accept; as, Ps. li. 17. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

2. The next thing requisite in a true repentance, is confession of sins, which naturally follows the other; for if a man be so deeply afflicted with sorrow for his sins, he will be glad to be rid of them as soon as he can; and the way for this, is humbly to confess them to God, who hath promised to forgive us if we do. "I said I will confess my sins unto the Lord," saith the Psalmist; "and so thou

forgavest the wickedness of my sin:" Ps. xxxii. 6. So, Prov. xxviii. 13. and 1 John, i. 9. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." So the returning prodigal went to his father with an humble confession of his baseness, and was received into favour again. Luke, xv. 18, 19.

And because the number of our sins are like the hairs of our head, or the sand of the sea, and almost as various too in their kinds as their numbers; confession must needs be a very extensive duty, and require the strictest care and examination of ourselves: for "who can tell how oft he offendeth?" saith David; "O, cleanse thou me from my secret faults!"

The penitent, therefore, should be reminded, that his confession be as minute and particular as it can; since the more particular the confession is, to be sure, the more sincere and safe the repentance.

3. A third thing requisite in a true repentance, is an unfeigned abhorrence and forsaking of sin, and turning to the Lord our God with all our hearts.

For so we find them expressly joined together by St. Paul, when he *charges* those whom by vision he was sent to convert, to change* their mind, and "turn to God, and do works meet for repentance:" Acts, xxvi. 20. And a little before he says, he was sent "to open their eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins:" verse 18. And we shall always find, when we are commanded to cease from evil, it is in order to do good.

The penitent, therefore, must be reminded, not only to *confess* and be *sorry* for his sins, but likewise to *forsake*

* ἀπάγγελλον μετανοεῖν.

them. For it is he only "who confesseth and forsaketh his sins, that shall have mercy:" Prov. xxviii. 13. And this forsaking must not be only for the present, during his sickness, or for a week, a month, or a year; but for his whole life, be it never so protracted; which is the

4. Last thing requisite in a true repentance, viz. "a patient continuance in well-doing to the end of our lives." For as the Holy Jesus assures us, that "he that endureth unto the end shall be saved:" so does the spirit of God profess, that "if any man draw back, his soul shall have no pleasure in him:" Heb. x. 38. Hence we are said to "be partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast to the end:" Heb. iii. 14. but not else: for it is to "him only that overcometh, and keepeth his works to the end," that our Saviour hath promised a reward: Rev. ii. 26. Hence our religion is said to be a continual warfare, and we must be constantly "pressing forward toward the mark of our high calling," with the apostle, lest we fail of the prize.

And this it is which makes a death-bed repentance so justly reckoned to be very full of hazard; such as none who defer it till then, can depend upon with any real security. For let a man be never so seemingly penitent in the day of his visitation, yet none but God can tell whether it be sincere or not; since nothing is more common than for those who expressed the greatest signs of a lasting repentance upon a sick-bed, to forget all their vows and promises of amendment, as soon as God had removed the judgment, and restored them to their former health. "It happened to them according to the true proverb," as St. Peter says, "the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire:" 2 Pet. ii. 22.

The sick penitent, therefore, should be often reminded of this:—That nothing will be looked upon as true repentance, but what would terminate in a holy life: that, therefore, he ought to take great heed, that his repentance be not only the effect of his present danger, but that it be lasting and sincere, "bringing forth works meet for repentance," should it please God mercifully to prove him by a longer life.

But here it is much to be feared, that after all his endeavours to bring men to a sight of themselves, and to repent them truly of their sins, the spiritual man will meet with but very little encouragement: for if we look round the world, we shall find the generality of men to be of a rude indifference, and a seared conscience, and mightily ignorant of their condition with respect to another world, being abused by evil customs and principles, apt to excuse themselves, and to be content with a certain general and indefinite confession; so that if you provoke them never so much to acknowledge their faults, you shall hardly ever extort any thing farther from them than this, viz. "That they are sinners, as every man hath his infirmity, and they as well as any; but, God be thanked, they have done no injury to any man, but are in charity with all the world:" And, perhaps, they will tell you, "they are no swearers, no adulterers, nor rebels, &c. but that, God forgive them, they must needs acknowledge themselves to be sinners in the main," &c. And if you can open their breast so far, it will be looked upon as sufficient; to go any farther, will be to do the office of an accuser, not of a friend.

But, which is yet worse, there are a great many persons who have been so used to an habitual course of sin, that the crime is made natural and necessary to them, and they have no remorse of conscience for it, but think themselves in a

state of security very often when they stand upon the brink of damnation. This happens in the cases of drunkenness and lewd practices, and luxury, and idleness, and mispending of the Sabbath, and in lying and vain jesting, and slanderings of others; and particularly in such evils as the laws do not punish, nor publick customs shame, but which are countenanced by potent sinners, or wicked fashions, or good-nature and mistaken civilities.

In these and the like cases, the spiritual man must endeavour to awaken their consciences, by such means as follow.

Arguments and general Heads of Discourse, by way of Consideration, to awaken a stupid Conscience, and the careless Sinner.

1. And here let the minister endeavour to affect his conscience, by representing to him,—

That Christianity is a holy and strict religion: that the promises of heaven are so great, that it is not reasonable to think a small matter and a little duty will procure it for us: that religious persons are always the most scrupulous: and that to feel nothing, is not a sign of life, but of death: that we live in an age, in which that which is called and esteemed a holy life, in the days of the apostles and primitive Christianity would have been esteemed indifferent, sometimes scandalous, and always cold; that when we have "done our best, all our righteousness is but as filthy rags;" and we can never do too much to make our "calling and election sure:" that every good man ought to be suspicious of himself, fearing the worst, that he may provide for the best: that even St. Paul, and several other remarkable saints, had at some times great apprehensions of failing of the "mighty prize of their high calling:" that

we are commanded to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling;" inasmuch as we shall be called to an account, not only for our sinful words and deeds, but even for our very thoughts: that if we keep all the commandments of God, and "yet offend in one point (i. e. wilfully and habitually), we are guilty of all;" James, ii. 10.: that no man can tell how oft he offendeth, the best of lives being full of innumerable blemishes in the sight of God, however they may appear before men: that no man ought to judge of the state of his soul by the character he has in the world; for a great many persons go to hell, who have lived in a fair reputation here; and a great many, on the other hand, go to heaven, who have been loaded with infamy and reproach: that the work of religion is a work of great difficulty, trial, and temptation: that "many are called, but few are chosen:" that "strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it:" and, lastly, that, "if the righteous themselves shall scarcely be saved," there will be no place for the unrighteous and sinner to appear in, but of horrour and amazement.

By these and such like motives to consideration, the spiritual man is to awaken the careless sinner, and to bring him to repentance and confession of his sins; and if either of himself, or by this means, the sick man is brought to a right sense of his condition; then,

2. Let the minister proceed to assist him in understanding the number of his sins, i. e. the several kinds of them, and the various ways of prevaricating with the Divine commandments. Let him make him sensible how every sin is aggravated, more or less, according to the different circumstances of it; as by the greatness or smallness of the temptation, the scandal it gives to others, the dishonour it does to religion, the injury it brings along with it to those

whom it more immediately concerns; the degrees of boldness and impudence, the choice in acting it, the continuance in it, the expense, desires, and habit of it, &c.

3. Let the sick man, in the scrutiny of his conscience and confession of his sins, be carefully reminded to consider those sins, which are nowhere condemned but in the *court of conscience:* for there are certain secret places of darkness, artificial blinds of the Devil, which he uses to hide our sins from us, and to incorporate them into our affections, by the general practice of others, and the mistaken notions of the world: as, 1. Many sins before men are accounted honourable; such as fighting a duel, returning evil for evil, blow for blow, &c. 2. Some things are not forbidden by the law of man, as lying in ordinary discourse, jeering, scoffing, intemperate eating, ingratitude, circumventing another in contracts, outwitting and overreaching in bargains, extorting and taking advantage of the necessities or ignorance of other people, importunate entreaties, and temptations of persons to many instances of sin, as intemperance, pride, and ambition, &c.; all which, therefore, do strangely blind the understanding and captivate the affections of sinful men, and lead them into a thousand snares of the Devil which they are not aware of. 3. Some others do not reckon that they sin against God, if the laws have seized upon the person: and many who are imprisoned for debt, think themselves disengaged from payment; and when they pay the penalty, think they owe nothing for the scandal and disobedience. 4. Some sins are thought not considerable, but go under the titles of sins of infirmity, or inseparable accidents of mortality; such as idle thoughts, foolish talking, loose revellings, impatience, anger, and all the events of evil company. 5. Lastly; many things are thought to be no sins; such as mispending of their time, whole days or months of useless or im-

pertinent employment, long gaming, winning men's money in great portions, censuring men's actions, curiosity, equivocating in the prices of buying and selling, rudeness in speech or behaviour, speaking uncharitable truths, and the like.

These are some of those artificial veils and coverings, under the dark shadow of which the enemy of mankind makes very many to lie hid from themselves, blinding them with false notions of honour, and the mistaken opinions and practices of the world, with publick permission and impunity, or (it may be) a temporal penalty; or else with prejudice, or ignorance and infirmity, and direct errour in judgment.

Now, in all these cases, the ministers are to be inquisitive and strictly careful, that such kind of fallacies prevail not over the sick; but that those things, which passed without observation before, may now be brought forth, and pass under the severity of a strict and impartial censure, religious sorrow and condemnation.

4. To this may be added a general display of the neglect and omission of our duty; for in them lies the bigger half of our failings: and yet, in many instances, they are undiscerned; because our consciences have not been made tender and perceptible of them. But whoever will cast up his accounts, even with a superficial eye, will quickly find that he hath left undone, for the generality, as many things which he ought to have done, as he hath committed those he ought not to have done: such as the neglect of publick or private prayer, of reading the Scriptures, and instructing his family, or those that are under him, in the principles of religion: the not discountenancing sin to the utmost of his power, especially in the personages of great men: the not "redeeming the time," and "growing in grace," and doing all the good he can in his generation:

the frequent omissions of the great duty of charity, in visiting the sick, relieving the needy, and comforting the afflicted: the want of obedience, duty, and respect to parents: the doing the work of God negligently, or not discharging himself with that fidelity, care, and exactness which is incumbent upon him, in the station wherein the providence of God hath placed him, &c.

5. With respect to those sins which are committed against man, let the minister represent to the sick man that he can have no assurance of his pardon, unless he is willing to make all suitable amends and satisfaction to his offended and injured brethren; as for instance, if he hath lived in enmity with any, that he should labour to be reconciled to them; if he is in debt, that he should do his utmost to discharge it; or if he hath injured any one in his substance or credit, that he should endeavour to make restitution in kind for the one, and all possible satisfaction for the other, by humbling himself to the offended person, and beseeching him to forgive him.

6. If the sick person be of evil report, the minister should take care, some way or other, to make him sensible of it, so as to show an effectual sorrow and repentance. This will be best done by prudent hints, and insinuations, of recalling those things to his mind whereof he is accused by the voice of fame, or to which the temptations, perhaps, of his calling more immediately subject him. Or if he will not understand, when he is secretly prompted, he must be asked in plain terms concerning these matters. He must be told of the evil things which are spoken of him in publick, and of the usual temptations of his calling.

And it concerns the minister to follow this advice, without partiality, or fear, or interest, or respect of persons, in much simplicity and prudence, having no other considera-

tion before him, but the conscious discharge of his duty, and the salvation of the person under his care.

7. The sick person is likewise to be instructed concerning his faith, whether he has a reasonable notion of the articles of the Christian Religion, as they are excellently summed up in the Apostles' Creed.

8. With respect to his temporal concerns, the sick is to be advised to set every thing in order, and (if he hath not already) to make his will as soon as he can. For if he recovers, this cannot be detrimental; but, if he dies, it will be of great comfort and satisfaction to him. And here it must be remembered that he distributes every thing according to the exact rules of justice, and with such a due care, as to prevent all law-suits and contentions for the future: and, if he be able, he is to be admonished to do something likewise out of charity, and for the sake of his poor brethren.

9. In all the course of his visitation, the minister should frequently be exhorting the sick man to patience and a blessed resignation to the will of God; and not to look upon his sickness as barely the effect of second causes, but as inflicted on him by Divine Providence for several wise and good ends: As, for the trial of his faith; the exercise of his patience; the punishment of his sins; the amendment of his life; or for the example of others, who, seeing his good behaviour in such a day of calamity, may glorify their Father which is in heaven: or else, that it is for the increase of his future welfare, in order to raise him the higher in glory hereafter, by how much the lower he hath been depressed here.

10. When the spiritual man hath thus discharged his duty, and the sick hath made him capable of it, by a religious and holy conformity to all the forementioned particulars respecting his condition and circumstances, he may then give him the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And

it is the minister's office to invite sick and dying persons to this holy Sacrament, provided they discover a right sense of their duty. And,

Note, That the Holy Sacrament is not to be administered to dying persons, when they have no use of their reason to join with the minister in his celebration of it. For the Sacraments operate not of themselves, but as they are made efficacious by the joint consent and will, and religious acts and devotion, of the party that receives them. And therefore all fools, and distracted persons, and children, and lethargical and apoplectical people, or that are any ways senseless and incapable of human and reasonable acts, are to be assisted only by prayers.

Note also, That in cases of necessity, where the sacrament cannot be so conveniently administered, the sick may be admonished to receive it spiritually, i. e. by representing the symbols of the body and blood of our Lord to his mind, and applying them to himself by faith, with the same preparations of faith and repentance, as if they were really present. For no doubt but God, in such a case, who considers all things with exact justice, and chiefly respects the sincerity of our hearts and intentions, will excuse the absence of the outward and visible sign, when necessity, and not contempt or neglect, was the occasion of it.

SECTION IV.

Of applying spiritual Remedies to the unreasonable Fears and Dejections of the Sick.

It sometimes happens that good men, especially such as have tender consciences, impatient of the least sin, to which they are arrived by a long habit of grace, and a continual observation of their ways, overact their part, and turn their tenderness into scruples, and are too much dejected and

doubtful concerning their future salvation. In such a case, the minister is to represent to them, that the man who is jealous of himself, is always in the safest condition: that if he fears on his death-bed it is but what happens to most considering men; and that therefore to fear nothing then, is either a singular felicity, or a dangerous presumption.

But to restrain the extravagance of fear, let him be reminded of the terms of the Gospel:—that it is a covenant of grace and mercy to all: that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners:" that he continues "our Advocate in heaven," and daily "intercedes," with his Father for us: that the whole heavenly host rejoices at the conversion of a sinner: that the angels are deputed by God, to be our guardians against violent surprises and temptations: that there are different degrees of glory in heaven; so, that if we arrive not at the greatest, we may yet hope, by Divine Mercy, that we should not be excluded the less: that God hath promised to hear the "prayers of the righteous" for his servants; that he labours with us by his Spirit, and "as it were beseeches us, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled to him;" 2 Cor. v. 20: that, of all his attributes, he glories in none so much as in the titles of mercy and forgiveness: that therefore we do injustice to the Father of mercies, if we retain such hard thoughts and suspicions of him: that God calls upon us to forgive our brother "seventy times seven;" and yet all that is but like the forgiving "an hundred pence," for his sake, who forgives us "ten thousand talents:" and therefore if we are ordered to show such an unrestrained temper of forgiveness, it is only to animate us to trust in God's much more unbounded mercy.

By these and the like arguments, the spiritual man may raise the drooping spirits of good men, in their causeless dejections. But because there are many other cases of the

like nature, which the physician of souls will meet with in visiting his neighbours, especially such as are of melancholy dispositions, it may not be improper to mark the principal of them here, and to prescribe the remedies.

Considerations to be offered to Persons under religious Melancholy.

1. Some truly religious persons are under sad apprehensions of not being in the favour of God, because they find their devotions to be very often cold, their prayers distracted, and their delight in spiritual matters not to be so great and permanent, as their pleasure and satisfaction are in the things of the world.

Now to such as have made religion the great business of their lives, who have endeavoured to cure those distracted thoughts they complain of, and to inflame their souls with divine love, it may be offered, that the different degrees of affection with which men serve God, do very often depend upon the difference of their tempers and constitutions; since some are naturally so dull and heavy, as to be little affected with any thing; whilst others are of such a tender make, as to be affected almost with every thing, so as to be soon exalted with joy, or depressed with sorrow: that sickness, losses, and all afflictions, and even religion itself, in its long and continual exercise of self-denial and thoughtfulness, do naturally produce such a tenderness of spirit: that the best of men have never been able at all times to keep their affections at an equal height: that the zeal and warmth with which some are affected, is not always an argument of their goodness: that a sensible pleasure in religious exercises, wherein the passions are affected, is not so acceptable to God as a reasonable ser-

vice: that distraction of thought in the service of God is owing, for the most part, to bodily weakness; and therefore if we do not give way to it, but do all we can to suppress those wandering thoughts, we may be assured we shall never be blamed for being subject to that, which, by reason of the weakness of our nature, we cannot help: that the first motions of our mind, as it is impossible to hinder them, are reckoned by all divines not to be sinful, provided we do not encourage them.

2. Some are extremely dejected, because, upon strict examination of themselves, they find, as they think, all their religion to be owing to their fears: and fear being a slavish and sordid passion, they are apt to conclude, that all those services which are not the result of a more noble principle, will be rejected by God, since, as he is all love, and goodness, and perfection, he will not be pleased, they think, with any sacrifice, but what is offered by love.

And to this sad purpose, some have interpreted Rev. xxi. 8. to belong to them, where the fearful are joined together with the most abominable, who shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.

To cure the depraved and unhappy notions of such as these, it may be argued; that it is plain from Scripture, that the first beginnings of, or movements towards, an holy life, are usually owing to the passion of fear: that to this, both our Saviour and his apostles do all along address themselves in their earnest entreaties of mankind to turn from the ways of sin to God.—"Fear him," saith our Saviour, "who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell;" Matth. x. 28; so chap. vi. 15; Mark xvi. 16. And to this purpose the apostle says, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling," Phil. ii. 12; and 2 Cor. v. 11, "Knowing the terrours of the Lord," saith he, "we persuade men." And in most of the Scripture proofs, we

shall find the chief argument of religion to be urged from a fear of punishment for the neglect thereof: so that to be dejected, and render our lives comfortless on this account, were the most unreasonable extravagance; since this were to suppose, that God hath implanted the passion of fear in us in vain; or, what is worse, only to vex and torment us; and that our Saviour and his apostles, persuading us to be religious from the terrours of the Lord, had deceived and misled us.

And as for that text, Rev. xxi. 8,—"The fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone," &c.; it is plain, that by the fearful in this place is meant, either such as refuse to embrace the Christian religion, or who, having embraced it, are afraid to continue steadfast to the end, on account of the cross; and therefore cannot be supposed to have any reference to those who are "working out their salvation with fear and trembling," according to the direction of the Gospel. Not but that we are to intermix with this fear an entire love and affection to God, to the utmost of our powers.

3. Some very pious but unhappy persons, are grievously tormented with wicked and blasphemous thoughts, so as to fall under the greatest agonies of mind; and often to be so near distraction, as to choose death rather than life.

For the relief and comfort of these, the minister should suggest to them, that such horrid and frightful thoughts are either occasioned through melancholy prevailing over their spirits, and disordering the frame of their minds; or else from the malice of the Devil, and the spirits of darkness, who do all they can to shake our faith, and to imbitter the Christian life.

If to the former we ascribe such horrid thoughts, they may be comforted upon assurance, that they will not be imputed to them as their sin, any more than a fever or any bodily distemper will, which they did not willingly procure, and which they have tried all means to remove.

If to the latter, they may be encouraged rather to rejoice; as nothing is a greater sign of their being high in the favour of God, than when they are under the most violent temptations of the Devil. "My brethren, count it all joy," saith Saint James, "when ye fall into divers temptations;" chap. i. 2. To that effect, they may be taught to consider, that the way to heaven is justly said to be by the gates of hell: that the "same afflictions are accomplished in their brethren which are in the world," who in various kinds are tempted of the tempter; 1 Pet. v. 9: that Satan "desired to have Saint Peter to sift him as wheat;" Luke, xxii. 31: that our Saviour himself was tempted by him, and the best of men have always been most obnoxious to his malice; and that to live in carnal security, without any molestations from him, is the most dangerous state: that the being so much concerned and afflicted at such evil thoughts, is a certain argument of a good disposition, since the wicked and profane are rather pleased than tormented with them.

Arguments of this kind are the most proper to be offered to such unhappy persons: but in case their faith and hope be totally overcome by the Devil, and they fall into direct despair, it will be necessary then to endeavour the cure of so great an evil and temptation, by the addition of the following exercise:—

An Exercise against Despair.

Let the minister suggest to them, that God is not willing that *any should perish*, but desirous that all should come to

his glory: that for this end we were created: that he is so far from being "extreme to mark what is done amiss," that he will not refuse the returning prodigal, nor reject the worst of criminals, upon their sincere repentance: that the thief upon the cross is a demonstrable proof of this, and a standing example to prevent the greatest sinner from despair: that if God is so merciful and condescending to the vilest transgressors, much rather may we hope to be pardoned for our weakness and infirmities: for, he "knoweth whereof we are made; he remembereth that we are but dust:" nay, he hath assured us, that he "will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax:" that all sins shall be forgiven the sons of men, except one, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost, "the sin unto death," as Saint John calls it.

But that no man commits a sin against the Holy Ghost, if he be afraid he hath, or desires that he may not; for, such penitential passions are against the very nature and definition of that sin: that although forgiveness of sins is consigned to us in baptism, and baptism is but once; yet, forgiveness of sins being the special grace of the Gospel, it is secured to us for our life, and ebbs and flows according as we discompose or renew the performance of our baptismal vow; therefore it is certain, that no man ought to despair of pardon, but he who hath voluntarily renounced his baptism, or willingly estranged himself from that covenant: that if it were not so, then all preaching and prayers were in vain, and all the conditions of the Gospel invalid, and there could be no such thing as repentance, nor indeed scarce a possibility of any one's being saved, if all were to be concluded in a state of damnation, who had committed sin after baptism.

To have any fears, therefore, on this account, were the most extravagant madness: for Christ "died for sinners," and "God hath comprehended all under sin, that" through him "he might have mercy upon all;" Rom. xi. 32. And it was concerning baptized Christians, that Saint John said, "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, and He is the propitiation for our sins:" and concerning lapsed Christians, Saint Paul gave instruction, that "if any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a man in the spirit of meekness, considering lest ye also be tempted." The Corinthian Christian committed incest, and was pardoned: and Simon Magus, after he was baptized, offered to commit the sin we call simony, and yet Peter bade him pray for pardon: and Saint James tells us, that "if the sick man sends for the elders of the church, and they pray over him, and he confess his sins, they shall be forgiven him;" chap. v. 14.

That even in the case of very great sins, and great judgments inflicted upon sinners, wise and good men have declared their sense to be, that God vindicated his justice in that temporal punishment; and so it was supposed to have been done in the case of Ananias, &c.: that nothing can be more absurd than to think that so great and good a God, who is so desirous of saving all, as appears by his word, by his sending his Son, by his oaths and promises, by his very nature and daily overtures of mercy, should condemn any, without the greatest provocations of his majesty, and perseverance in them.

Upon the strength of these arguments, the despairing person may be further taught to argue thus with himself:

I consider that the ground of my trouble is my sin; and were it not for that, I should have no reason to be troubled: but since the "whole world lieth in wickedness," and

since there cannot be a greater demonstration of a man's abhorrence of sin, than to be so deeply affected with sorrow for it; I therefore will erect my head with a holy hope, and think that God will also be merciful to me a sinner, as he is to the rest of mankind. I know that the mercies of God are infinite: that he sent his Son into the world on purpose to redeem such as myself; and that he hath repeatedly promised "to give to them that ask, and to be found of them that seek him;" and therefore I will not distrust his goodness, nor look upon the great God of heaven and earth to be worse than his word. Indeed, if from myself I were to derive my title to heaven, then my sins were a just argument of despair: but now that they bring me to Christ, that they drive me to an appeal to God's mercy, they cannot infer a just cause of despair. I am sure it is a stranger thing, that the Son of God should come down from heaven, and take upon him our nature, and live and die in the most ignominious state of it, than that a sinful man, washed by the blood of Christ, and his own tears and humiliation, should be admitted to pardon, and made "partaker of the kingdom of heaven:" and it were stranger yet, that he should do so much for man, and that a man that desires, that labours after it to the utmost of his power, that sends up strong cries and prayers, and is still within the covenant of grace, should inevitably miss that end for which our Saviour did and suffered so much.

It is certain, that of all the attributes that belong to God, there is none more essential to his nature, and which he takes more delight in, than his mercy; and it is as certain also, there must be proper objects for this boundless and immense attribute of God; and the most proper, if not only, objects of mercy in the creation, are the children of men; and of men, surely those who are most grieved and

wearied with the burden of their sins. I, therefore, who am as pitiful an object of mercy as any, will cheerfully hope, that God will both forgive me here, and give me the blessing of eternal life hereafter: for I know that *eternal life* is purely the *gift of God*, and therefore have less reason still to despair. For if my sins were fewer, and my unworthiness of such a glory were less, yet still I could not receive it but as a free gift and donation of God, and so I may now; and it is not expectation beyond the hopes of possibility, to look and wait for such a gift at the hands of the God of mercy. The best of men deserve it not; and I, who am the worst, may have it given me. I know that I have sinned grievously and frequently against my heavenly Father: but I have repented, I have begged pardon, I have confessed and forsaken my sins, and have done all that is possible for me, to make atonement. I cannot undo what is done; and I perish, if there be no such thing as a remedy, or remission of sins. But then I know my religion must perish together with my hope, and the word of God itself must fail as well as I. But I cannot, I dare not, entertain such a thought. I firmly believe that most encouraging article of faith, *the remission of sins;* and since I do that, which all good men call repentance, I will also humbly hope for a remission of mine, and a joyful resurrection.

I know that the Devil is continually lying in wait to seduce and destroy the souls of men; wherefore I will fortify my spirits, and redouble my guard, and call upon God to enable me to resist all the fiery darts of this malicious adversary.

Or perhaps this exceeding dejection, or malady of mind, may arise from the distemper and weakness of my body; or at most, I hope, it is only a disease of judgment, not an

intolerable condition, I am fallen into: and since I have heard of a great many others who have been in the same condition with myself, and yet recovered, I will also take courage to hope that God will relieve me in his good time, and not leave my soul for ever in this hell of depraved fancy and wicked imagination. In fine, I will raise up my dejected spirits, and cast all my care upon God, and depend upon him for the event, which I am sure will be just; and I cannot but think, from the same reason, full of mercy. However, now I will use all the spiritual arts of reason and religion, to make me more and more desirous of loving God; that if I miscarry, charity also shall fail, and something that loves God shall perish, and be damned: which if it be impossible (as I am sure it is), then I may have just reason to hope I shall do well.

These considerations may be of service to "bind up the broken-hearted," and to strengthen the "bruised reed" of a good man's spirit, in so great and terrible a dejection. But as cases of this nature are very rare, so the arguments here made use of are rarely to be insisted upon; and never, but to well-disposed persons, or reformed penitents, or to such as, in the general course of their life, have lived pretty strictly and conformably to the rules of religion. For if the man be a vicious person, and hath gone on in a continual course of sin, to the time of his sickness, these considerations are not proper. Let him inquire into the words of the first disciples after Pentecost, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?" And if we can but entertain so much hope, as to enable him to do as much of his duty as he can for the present, it is all that can be provided for him. And the minister must be infinitely careful, that he does not attempt to comfort vicious persons with the comfort of God's elect, lest he prostitute holy things, and

encourage vice, and render his discourses deceitful; and the man unhappily finds them to be so, when he descends into the regions of darkness.

But because very few are tempted with too great fears of miscarrying, but the generality, even of the most profligate sort, are rather inclined to unwarrantable assurances of their future salvation, it will highly concern the ministers to prevent in time so great and reigning an imposition of the Devil.

Wherefore to the former considerations to awaken the careless sinner, and a stupid conscience, the following may be added, upon occasion, to check the over-weening thoughts of the presumptuous.

SECTION V.

Considerations against Presumption.

And here, let the bold and arrogant sinner further know: that a man cannot think too meanly of himself, but may very easily run into the contrary extreme: that the growths in grace are long, difficult, uncertain, often interrupted, consisting of great variety, and almost innumerable parts and distinctions, which a careless person can never discover: that the more a man presumes, the greater reason he hath to fear; because the confidence of such men is generally like that of children and young people, who have no other reason, but that they understand not the dangers and follies of their self-conceits; that "the heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" deceiving itself, and deceiving others in innumerable instances; and being often "in the gall of bitterness," when the man appears with the fairest outside to the world: that it is certain, all "have sinned and come short of the glory

of God;" but not so certain, that any one's repentance is real and effective to salvation: that virtue and vice are oftentimes so near neighbours, that we pass into each other's borders without observation, and think we do justice, when we are cruel; or call ourselves liberal, when we are loose and foolish in our expenses, &c.

That the self-accusing publican was justified, rather than the self-confident Pharisee: that if Adam in Paradise, David in his house, Solomon in the temple, Peter in the family of Christ, Judas among the twelve apostles, and Nicholas among the deacons, and if the angels in heaven itself, did fall so atrociously, then we have all the reason in the world "not to be high-minded, but to fear;" and when we are most confident of ourselves, "to take heed lest we fall;" there being nothing so likely to occasion it, as pride and a great opinion of ourselves, which ruined the angels, which God resists, which all men despise, and which betray us into carelessness, and a wretched, undiscerning, and unwary spirit.

These are the main parts of ecclesiastical duties and offices in the visitation of the sick; which being severally performed, as occasion requires, it remains only that the minister pray over the sick, and remind him to do all the good actions he is capable of; to call upon God for pardon; to put his whole trust in him; to be patient and resigned; and even to renounce every ill thought or word, or indecent action, which the violence of his sickness may have caused in him; to beg of God to give him his Holy Spirit, to guide him in his agony, and to send his holy angels to guard him in his passage.

Whatsoever is besides this, concerns the standers-by, that they do all in their respective offices diligently and temperately: that they join in prayer with the minister,

with much charity and devotion: that they make no outcries or exclamations on the departure of the soul; nor any positive judgment concerning the dying man; by his dying quietly or violently, with great fears or a cheerful confidence; with sense or without; like a lamb, or like a lion; with convulsions and terrible agonies; or like the silent and well-spent flame of an expiring taper. For these may happen severally, according to the constitution of the persons, and the nature of the distemper that befals them; or else according as God pleases to dispense the grace, or the punishment, for reasons only known to himself.

Let us lay our hands upon our mouth, and adore the mysteries of the divine wisdom and providence, and pray to God to give the dying man rest and pardon; and to ourselves grace to live well, and the blessings of a holy and happy death.

THE ORDER FOR THE

VISITATION OF THE SICK.

When any Person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the parish, who, coming into the sick Person's house, shall say,

PEACE be to this house, and to all that dwell in it.

When he cometh into the sick man's presence, he shall say, kneeling down,

REMEMBER not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers. Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us forever.

Answer. Spare us, good Lord.

Then the Minister shall say,

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Min. O Lord, save thy servant,
Ans. Which putteth *his* trust in thee.
Min. Send *him* help from thy holy place;
Ans. And evermore mightily defend *him.*
Min. Let the enemy have no advantage of *him;*
Ans. Nor the wicked approach to hurt *him.*
Min. Be unto *him*, O Lord, a strong tower,
Ans. From the face of *his* enemy.
Min. O Lord, hear our prayers:
Ans. And let our cry come unto thee.

Minister.

O LORD, look down from heaven; behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant. Look upon *him* with the eyes of thy mercy; give *him* comfort and sure confidence in thee; defend *him* from the danger of the enemy, and keep *him* in perpetual peace and safety, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

HEAR us, Almighty and Most Merciful God and Saviour; extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant, who is grieved with sickness. Sanctify, we beseech thee, this thy fatherly correction to *him;* that the sense of

his weakness may add strength to *his* faith, and seriousness to *his* repentance: that, if it shall be thy good pleasure to restore *him* to *his* former health, *he* may lead the residue of *his* life in thy fear, and to thy glory: or else give *him* grace so to take thy visitation, that, after this painful life is ended, *he* may dwell with thee in life everlasting; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister exhort the sick Person after this form, or other like.

DEARLY beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining; as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience; for the example of others; and that your faith may be found in the day of the Lord, laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory and endless felicity; or else it be sent unto you, to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your Heavenly Father: know you certainly, that, if you truly repent of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly unto his will, it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

☞ If the Person visited be very sick, then the Curate may end his exhortation in this place, or else proceed.

TAKE, therefore, in good part the chastisement of the Lord; for (as St. Paul saith, in the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews), "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and

scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons: for, what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live? For they verily, for a few days, chastened us after their own pleasure; but He for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness." These words (good *brother*) are written in Holy Scriptures for our comfort and instruction, that we should patiently and with thanksgiving bear our Heavenly Father's correction, whensoever, by any manner of adversity, it shall please his gracious goodness to visit us. And there should be no greater comfort to Christian persons, than to be made like unto Christ, by suffering patiently adversities, troubles, and sicknesses. For He himself went not up to joy, but first he suffered pain: He entered not into his glory before he was crucified. So, truly, our way to eternal joy, is to suffer here with Christ; and our door to enter into eternal life, is gladly to die with Christ, that we may arise again from death, and dwell with him in everlasting life. Now, therefore, taking your sickness, which is thus profitable for you, patiently; I exhort you, in the name of God, to remember the profession which you made unto God in your baptism. And forasmuch as after this life, there is an account to be given unto the Righteous Judge, by whom all must be judged without respect of persons; I require you to examine yourself, and your estate, both towards God and man; so that, accusing and condemning yourself, and your own faults, you may find mercy at your Heavenly Father's hand for Christ's sake, and not be accused and condemned in that fearful judgment. Therefore I shall

rehearse to you the Articles of our Faith, that you may know whether you believe as a Christian man should, or no.

Here the Minister shall rehearse the Articles of the Faith, saying thus:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son, our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come again, at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholick church; the communion of saints; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh; and everlasting life after death?

The sick Person shall answer,

All this I steadfastly believe.

Then shall the Minister examine whether he repent him truly of his sins, and be in charity with all the world; exhorting him to forgive, from the bottom of his heart, all persons that have offended him, and, if he have offended any other, to ask them forgiveness; and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, that he make amends to the utmost of his power. And if he hath not before disposed of his goods, let him then be admonished to make his will, and to declare his debts, what he oweth, and what is owing unto him; for the better discharge of his conscience, and the quietness of his executors. But men should often be put in remembrance to take order for settling of their temporal estates, whilst they are in health.

These words, before rehearsed, may be said before the Minister begins his prayer, as he shall see cause.

The Minister should not omit earnestly to move such sick Persons as are of ability, to be liberal to the poor.

Here shall the sick Person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort:

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners, who truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences! And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

And then the Priest shall say the collect following:

Let us pray.

O MOST merciful God, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those who truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more; open thine eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in *him*, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the Devil, or by *his* own carnal will and frailness; preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the church; consider *his* contrition, accept *his* tears, assuage *his* pain, as shall seem to thee most expedient for *him*. And, forasmuch as *he* putteth *his* full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto *him* his former sins, but strengthen *him* with thy blessed Spirit; and when thou art pleased to take *him* hence, take *him* unto thy favour, through the merits of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister say this Psalm.

In te, Domine, speravi.—Psalm lxxi.

IN thee, O Lord, have I put my trust; let me never be put to confusion: but rid me, and deliver me in thy righteousness; incline thine ear unto me, and save me.

Be thou a strong hold, whereunto I may alway resort: thou hast promised to help me, for thou art my house of defence, and my castle.

Deliver me, O my God, out of the hand of the ungodly; out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man.

For thou, O Lord, art the thing that I long for: thou art my hope, even from my youth.

Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born: thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb; my praise shall always be of thee.

I am become as it were a monster to many; but my sure trust is in thee.

O let my mouth be filled with thy praise; that I may sing of thy glory and honour all the day long.

Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me.

For mine enemies speak against me; and they that lay wait for my soul, take their counsel together; saying, God hath forsaken him; persecute him, and take him, for there is none to deliver him.

Go not far from me, O God; my God, haste thee to help me.

Let them be confounded and perish, that are against my soul: let them be covered with shame and dishonour, that seek to do me evil.

As for me I will patiently abide alway; and will praise thee more and more.

My mouth shall daily speak of thy righteousness and salvation: for I know no end thereof.

I will go forth in the strength of the Lord God; and will make mention of thy righteousness only.

Thou, O God, hast taught me from my youth up until now: therefore will tell of thy wondrous works.

Forsake me not, O God, in mine old age, when I am grey-headed, until I have showed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power to all them that are yet for to come.

Thy righteousness, O God, is very high, and great things are they that thou hast done; O God, who is like unto thee?

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

Adding this:

O SAVIOUR of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, save us, and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.

Then shall the Minister say:

THE Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him; to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, do bow and obey; be now, and evermore, thy defence, and make thee know and feel, that there is no other name under heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

And after that shall say:

UNTO God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

THE

COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

FORASMUCH as all mortal men be subject to many sudden perils, diseases, and sicknesses, and ever uncertain what time they shall depart out of this life; therefore to the intent they may be always in readiness to die, whensoever it shall please Almighty God to call them, the Curates shall diligently, from time to time (but especially in time of pestilence, or other infectious sickness), exhort their parishioners to the often receiving the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, when it shall be publickly administered in the church; that, so doing, they may, in case of sudden visitation, have the less cause to be disquieted for lack of the same. But if the sick Person be not able to come to the church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his house; then he must give timely notice to the Curate, signifying also how many there are to communicate with him (which shall be three, or two at the least), and having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary, so prepared, that the Curate may reverently minister, he shall there celebrate the Holy Communion, beginning with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel here following.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, maker of mankind, who dost correct those whom thou dost love, and chastisest every one whom thou dost receive: we beseech thee to have mercy upon this thy servant visited with thine hand, and to grant that *he* may take *his* sickness patiently, and recover *his* bodily health (if it be thy gracious will): and whenever *his* soul shall depart from the body, it may be without spot presented unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Epistle, Heb. xii. 5.

MY son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the

Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

The Gospel, St. John, v. 24.

VERILY, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.

After which, the Priest shall proceed according to the form prescribed for the Holy Communion, beginning at these words: [Ye that do truly].

At the time of the distribution of the Holy Sacrament, the Priest shall first receive the Communion himself, and afterward minister unto them that are appointed to communicate with the sick, and last of all to the sick Person.

But if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the Curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefor, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.

When the sick Person is visited, and receiveth the Holy Communion all at one time, then the Priest, for more expedition, shall cut off the form of the visitation, at the Psalm [In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust], and go straight to the Communion.

In the time of the plague, sweat, or other such like contagious times of sickness or diseases, when none of the parish or neighbours can be gotten to communicate with the sick in their houses, for fear of the infection, upon special request of the diseased, the Minister only may communicate with him.

At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the Priest shall say this exhortation:

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how St. Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith, we receive that Holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us): so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body; we kindle God's wrath against us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent ye truly for your sins past; have a lively and steadfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries. And above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross, for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us, he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remem-

brance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To Him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion,

Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; draw near with faith, and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, by one of the Ministers, both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying;

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men; we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous to us; the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up, and, turning himself to the people, pronounce this absolution:

ALMIGHTY God our Heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins, to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

COME unto me, all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Matt. xi. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. John, iii. 16.

Hear also what St. Paul saith:

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i. 15.

Hear also what St. John saith:

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John, ii. 1, 2.

After which, the Priest shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Ans. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Ans. It is meet and right so to do.

Then shall the Priest say,

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father*, Almighty, Everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall follow,

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

PROPER PREFACES.

On Christmas-day, and seven days after.

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as at this time for us, who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin: therefore with angels, &c.

On Easter-day, and seven days after.

But chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for He is the very paschal lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sins of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and, by his rising to life again, hath restored us to everlasting life: therefore, &c.

On Ascension-day, and seven days after.

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who, after his most glorious resurrection, manifestly

* These words [Holy Father] must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.

appeared to all his apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory: therefore, &c.

On Whitsunday, and six days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down as at this time from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations, whereby we have been brought out of darkness and errour into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore, &c.

On the feast of Trinity only.

WHO art one God, one Lord; not one only Person, but three Persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore, &c.

After each of which prefaces, shall immediately be sung or said:

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying; Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's table, say, in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following:

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

When the Priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of Consecration, as followeth:

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again: hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: who, in the same night that he was betrayed*, took bread, and when he had given thanks†, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying; take, eat‡; this is my body, which is given

* Here the Priest is to take the paten into his hands.

† And here to break the bread.

‡ And here to lay his hands upon all the bread.

for you: do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper*, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this† is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in like manner (if any be present), and after that to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread to any one, he shall say;

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life! Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the Minister that delivereth the cup to any one, shall say:

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life! Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed: beginning at [Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.] for the blessing of the bread, and [Likewise after supper, &c.] for the blessing of the cup.

When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.

* Here he is to take the cup into his hand.

† And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.

Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

OUR Father which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

After this shall be said as followeth:

O LORD and Heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we who are partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Or this:

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have

duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said, or sung,

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee, for thy great glory, O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer: thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us:

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Then the Priest, or Bishop (if he be present), shall let them depart with this blessing:

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be among you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

PROPER COLLECTS

THAT MAY BE USED WITH ANY OF THE PRAYERS FOR THE SICK.

LET thy merciful ears, O Lord, be open to the prayers of thy humble servants; and, that we may obtain our petitions, make us to ask such things as shall please thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

IN the midst of life, we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our heart; shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge Eternal, suffer us not at the last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee. *Amen.*

O MERCIFUL God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, we beseech thee to raise us from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, that, at the general resurrection in the last day, we may

be found acceptable in thy sight, and may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and in soul, in thy eternal glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

GRANT, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that we, who for our evil deeds do worthily deserve to be punished, by the comfort of thy grace may mercifully be relieved, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

O MOST mighty God, and merciful Father, who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved; mercifully forgive us our trespasses; relieve and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our sins. Thy property is always to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins: Spare us therefore, good Lord, spare us, whom thou hast redeemed. Enter not into judgment with thy servants, who are vile earth, and miserable sinners; but so turn thine anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults, and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O GOD, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech thee for all sorts and conditions of men, that thou wouldest be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health among all nations. More especially we pray for the good estate of the catholick church, that it may be so guided and governed by thy good Spirit, that all, who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in

unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. Finally, we commend to thy fatherly goodness all those, who are any ways afflicted in mind, body, or estate (especially *him* for whom our prayers are desired); that it may please thee to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities, giving them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions: and this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve; pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord.

O GOD, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful; mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils which the craft and subtlety of the devil or man worketh against us be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed: that we thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions (or afflictions), may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy church; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

WE beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of thy name turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved; and, grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in

holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory; through our only mediator and advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who of thy tender love to mankind hast sent thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility; mercifully grant, that we may both follow the example of his patience, and also be made partakers of his resurrection; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking, we beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities; and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us for the worthiness of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PRAYERS FOR THE SICK.

A general Prayer for the Acceptance of our Devotions for the Sick.

(From Bishop Andrews.)

O LORD, it is a great presumption that one sinner should dare to commend another to thy Divine Majesty. And who would not fear to undertake it? But thy commandment it is, "That we should pray for the sick members of thy church, and mourn with them that mourn:" and thou hast promised that our prayers thus made, thou wilt receive. And now behold, O Lord, we that are no way meet, but unworthy, utterly unworthy, to ask for aught for ourselves,

charity and compassion so binding us, are enforced to become suitors to thee for others, even for this thy servant, now afflicted by thee. Of thee we hope; of thee we desire; to thee we pray, in the most meek and humble manner, and even from the bottom of our hearts. O Lord, that which thou mightest justly deny to our unworthiness, deny not, we beseech thee, to thine own gracious goodness. O Lord, forgive us our sins; O Lord, forgive us our sins, our great and grievous sins, oft and many times committed, long and many years continued; so that we may be meet to pray for others, and our prayers be made unto thee in an acceptable time.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our hearts.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Christ; graciously hear us, O Lord Christ. *Amen.*

Particular Prayers for the Sick.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O MOST gracious God, who by thy Son Jesus Christ hast united us all in one body, that we should love one another, and if one member suffers, all the members should suffer with it; we humbly implore thy tender mercies towards this thy servant, of whose afflicted condition we desire to have a compassionate sense and feeling.

Look graciously upon *him*, O Lord, and visit *him* with thy salvation. Vouchsafe *him* such consolations from above, as we should desire for ourselves, were we in *his* extremity. Give *him* a true penitent heart for all the offences that he hath at any time committed; together

with a lively faith in thy Son Jesus, who came into the world to save sinners. Give *him* the comfort of a holy hope, that thou acceptest *his* repentance, and faithful devotion to thee. Support *him* by this hope under all *his* pain, and enable *him* patiently to submit to thy fatherly correction. Send *him* help now in time of need, both for *his* soul and for *his* body. Bless the means for *his* recovery; and, if it be thy good pleasure, restore *him* speedily to *his* former health, and inspire *him* with a serious resolution to serve thee more zealously all *his* days.

Or if thou hast otherwise resolved in thy wise counsels, deliver *him* from the fear of death, assist *him* in *his* last agony, give *him* an easy and cheerful passage out of this life, and send thy holy angels to conduct *him* into rest and peace with our Lord Jesus, for the same Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

(From Bishop Taylor.)

I.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of mercies, the God of peace and comfort, of rest and pardon, we thy servants, in duty to thee, and charity to our *brother*, humbly beg mercy of thee for *him*, to descend upon *his* body, and *his* soul. We come to thee in the name of Jesus, praying thee to pardon the sins of this thy servant, and to bury them in the grave of Him that died for us, that they may never rise up in judgment against *him*, nor bring *him*, in the day of trial, to shame and confusion of face. *Amen.*

II.

GIVE thy servant, O Lord, patience in *his* sorrows, comfort in *his* sickness, and restore *him* to health, if it seem good to thee. And, however thou shalt determine concerning *him*, yet make *his* repentance perfect, and *his*

faith strong, and *his* hope steadfast, and *his* passage safe; that when thou shalt call *his* soul from the body, it may enter into the rest of the sons of God, and the bosom of blessedness, and be with the holy Jesus. *Amen.*

III.

O LORD, thou knowest all the necessities, and all the infirmities of thy servant: fortify *his* soul with spiritual joys, and perfect resignation; and take from *him* all inordinate affections to this world; and enlarge his heart with desires of being with thee, in thy heavenly kingdom.

IV.

LORD, let not any pain or passion discompose the order of *his* thoughts, or *his* duty; and lay no more upon thy servant than thou wilt make *him* able to bear; and together with the temptation, do thou provide a way to escape; even by the mercies of a longer and more holy life, or by the mercies of a blessed death; even as it pleaseth thee, O Lord, so let it be. *Amen.*

V.

LORD, let the tenderness of *his* conscience and the Spirit of God, call to mind *his* sins, that they may be confessed and repented of; and let thy powerful grace remove from *his* soul every root of bitterness; and in the union of the holy Jesus, and in the love of God, and in the communion of all the saints, let *his* soul be presented to thee blameless, and entirely pardoned, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A larger Form of Prayer for the Sick.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O LORD, the Father of our spirits, who givest us life and breath, and all things, and hast not thought a crown of everlasting life too much to promise us; we believe that thou

wilt not deny us what is needful and fit for us, both for our souls and our bodies, in our passage through this world, to that of honour, glory, and immortality. In this confidence, we more particularly recommend this thy sick servant to thy infinite and most compassionate mercy. Settle in *his* soul a steadfast faith, that thou dost not willingly grieve the children of men, but intendest good to *him*, by this thy fatherly correction. And now since all other pleasures and enjoyments fail *him*, represent thyself more effectually unto *him*, as the only support and stay of his hope, and rock of salvation. Wherein soever *he* hath neglected thee, or committed any offence against thee, make *him* deeply sensible of it, and heartily sorrowful for all his transgressions. And as *he* earnestly desires pardon and forgiveness of thee, so work in *him* a serious resolution to live more circumspectly and righteously for the time to come. Assist *him* graciously, O Lord, that he may give a proof of *his* sincere intentions hereafter to submit *himself* in all things to thy will, by *his* patient submission to thy fatherly correction. O, that *he* may so quietly, so meekly, so humbly, and cheerfully resign *his* will unto thee, to suffer what thou inflictest, that *he* may be the more disposed to do readily whatsoever thou commandest. For which end, make *him* thoroughly apprehensive of thy sovereign power and authority over all creatures. Possess *him* with a great reverence of thy wisdom and justice, with an entire confidence in thy goodness and love, with a thankful remembrance of all thy past mercies to *him*, that so *he* may the better endure what thou layest upon *him* at present, and may ever follow thy directions, and submit to thy orders, and delight to do thy will, O God.

Bless the remedies which are used for restoring *him* to *his* former health, that *he* may live to perform *his* duty with greater care: or, if thou hast otherwise appointed,

accept graciously of *his* purposes of amendment, and dispose *him* to return back *his* spirit willingly unto thee who gavest it; and with great humility and deep sense of *his* own undeservings, to expect thy mercy declared in Christ Jesus. Fix *his* mind steadfastly upon him, who hath led the way through the grave unto heaven, that *he* may not be affrighted with the approaches of death, but, looking beyond it to that high and holy place, where the Lord Jesus is, may rejoice in hope of eternal glory.

And grant that every one of us, in our best state of health, may consider perpetually how frail and weak we are: that so we may not abuse ourselves by an intemperate use of any sensual pleasures, nor load our minds with the cares of this life, nor spend our days in a vain pursuit of the honour and glory of this world: but may pass all the time of our sojourning here, in fear; and may live so righteously and soberly in this present world, as becomes those who expect shortly to give an account to thee, who wilt judge all men according to their works. Hear us, O Lord, we most humbly beseech thee, through Christ Jesus our merciful and compassionate Redeemer. *Amen.*

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation, that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(From Doctor Hammond.)

O LORD, bless, keep, and defend this thy servant with thy heavenly grace and benediction, that *he* may continue thine forever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* comes to thy everlasting kingdom.

Let thy mighty hand and out-stretched arm, O Lord, be ever *his* defence; thy mercy and loving-kindness in Jesus Christ thy dear Son, *his* salvation; thy true and holy word, *his* instruction; thy grace and Holy Spirit, *his* comfort and consolation, both now, and at the hour of death.

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever*. *Amen.*

PROPER PSALMS FOR THE SICK.

I.

O LORD, rebuke me not in thine indignation; neither chasten in thy displeasure. *Psalm* vi. 1.

2. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed. *Psalm* vi. 2.

3. My soul also is sore troubled: but Lord, how long wilt thou punish me? *Psalm* vi. 3.

4. Thine arrows stick fast in me: and thy hand presseth me sore. *Psalm* xxxviii. 2.

5. There is no health in my flesh, because of thy displeasure: neither is there any rest in my bones, by reason of my sin. *Psalm* xxxviii. 3.

6. For my wickednesses are gone over my head, and are like a sore burden too heavy for me to bear. *Psalm* xxxviii. 4.

7. I am feeble and sore smitten: I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart. *Psalm* xxxviii. 8.

* Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

8. My heart panteth, my strength hath failed me, and the sight of mine eyes is gone from me. *Psalm* xxxviii. 10.

9. Therefore is my spirit vexed within me; my heart within me is desolate. *Psalm* cxliii. 4.

10. Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O, save me for thy mercies' sake. *Psalm* vi. 4.

11. Hide not thy face from me in the time of my trouble: Incline thine ears unto me when I call; O, hear me, and that right soon. *Psalm* cii. 2.

12. For my days are consumed away like smoke: my heart is smitten down and withered like grass. *Psalm* cii. 3, 4.

13. And that because of thine indignation and wrath: for thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down. *Psalm* cii. 10.

14. But I said; O my God, take me not away in the midst of my age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me. *Psalm* cii. 24.

15. Wherefore in thee, O Lord, have I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion. *Psalm* lxxi. 1.

II.

PSALM LI.

HAVE mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences.

2. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity: and cleanse me from my sin.

3. For I acknowledge my faults: and my sin is ever before me.

4. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged.

5. Behold, I was shapen in wickedness: and in sin hath my mother conceived me.

6. But, lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts: and thou shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly.

7. Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

8. Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness: that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice.

9. Turn thy face from my sins: and put out all my misdeeds.

10. Make me a clean heart, O God: and renew a right spirit within me.

11. Cast me not away from thy presence: and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.

12. O, give me the comfort of thy help again; and stablish me with thy free Spirit.

13. Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked: and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

III.

HEAR my prayer, O Lord, and consider my desire: hearken unto me for thy truth and righteousness' sake. *Psalm* cxliii. 1.

2. And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. *Psalm* cxliii. 2.

3. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. *Psalm* li. 17.

4. Lord, thou knowest all my desire: and my groaning is not hid from thee. *Psalm* xxxviii. 6.

5. I stretch forth my hands unto thee, my soul gaspeth unto thee, as a thirsty land. *Psalm* cxliii. 6.

6. Hear me, O Lord, and that soon, for my spirit waxeth faint: hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit. *Psalm* cxliii. 7.

7. Haste thee to help me, O Lord God of my salvation. *Psalm* xxxviii. 22.

8. For thou art a place to hide me in: thou shalt preserve me from trouble: thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance. *Psalm* xxxii. 8.

9. Into thy hands I commend my spirit: for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. *Psalm* xxxi. 5.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

A Declaration of Forgiveness.

(From Bishop Cosins.)

I DO most humbly desire all, and every one, whom I have offended, that they would vouchsafe to forgive me: and I do freely and heartily forgive all the world, whereinsoever any hath offended me, or done me any manner of injury whatsoever, even as I desire to be forgiven of God, and to be absolved from my sins, for the merits of my blessed Redeemer.

OCCASIONAL

PRAYERS FOR THE SICK.

A Prayer for a Person in the Beginning of his Sickness.

(From Bishop Taylor.)

O ALMIGHTY God, merciful and gracious, who in thy justice didst send sorrow and tears, sickness and death, into the world, as a punishment for man's sins, and hast com-

prehended all under sin, and this sad covenant of sufferings,—not to destroy us, but that thou mightest have mercy upon all, making thy justice to minister to mercy, short afflictions to an eternal weight of glory; as thou hast been pleased to turn the sins of this thy servant into sickness, so turn, we beseech thee, *his* sickness to the advantage of holiness and religion, of mercy and pardon, of faith and hope, of grace and glory. Thou hast now called *him* to suffer. Lord, relieve *his* sorrow and support *his* spirit, direct *his* thoughts, and sanctify *his* sickness, that the punishment of *his* sin may be to *him* a school of virtue. Make *him* behave as a son under discipline, humbly and obediently, evenly and patiently, that *he* may be brought by this means nearer to thee; that if *he* shall recover *his* former health, *he* may return to the world with greater strength of spirit, to run a new race of stricter holiness, and more severe religion; or if *he* shall pass hence through the gates of death, *he* may rejoice in the hope of being admitted into that heavenly society, in which all thy saints and servants shall be comprehended to eternal ages. Grant this, for Jesus Christ's sake, our blessed Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer for Thankfulness in Sickness.

O God, wonderful both in thy mercies and judgments, grant that the sense of thy servant's present afflictions may not cause *him* to forget thy former mercies, which thou hast bestowed upon *him*: O, therefore, let the remembrance of those many and great blessings that *he* hath so long enjoyed at thy hand, be now the proper motives and incentives to the virtues of patience and humility, causing *him* cheerfully to resign *himself* to thy blessed will under all the dispensations of thy providence, though ever so hard; and patiently to wait for the return of thy loving-kindness in Jesus, which is better than life. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Blessing on the Means used for a sick Person's recovery.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O GRACIOUS Lord, by whose word man lives, and not by any human means alone; direct, we pray thee, the counsels of those who prescribe to this thy servant, and prosper the medicines which are used to procure *him* ease and strength; but let not *his* confidence in them lessen any thing of *his* dependence on thee, but make *him* sensible that every good gift is from thee, and that it is thou that givest us help in time of need. To whom, therefore, but to thee, should we flee in the day of our visitation? since it is thy blessing only that maketh the means we use effectual; and, however vain the use of them is without thee, if thou biddest them, the things or accidents which we do not think of, or regard, shall recover us. O, therefore, as their part, who administer to *him* is the care, so let thine, O God, be the blessing, and *his* the comfort: and as *he* regards them as thy instruments, so let *him* own thee for the Author of *his* mercies, and to thee give thanks, and pay *his* vows and services: through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person when there appears some Hope of Recovery.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

WE thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast heard our prayers for thine afflicted servant, and given *him* some respite and hopes of recovery from this great illness. Blessed be thy goodness, that *he* hath not made *his* bed in the dust, but is likely to continue still

amongst us, in the land of the living. Blessed be thy goodness for so great (and lately unexpected) mercy to *him*.

And, O thou Preserver of men! who hast begun to revive and quicken *him* again; go on to perfect *his* cure, and forsake not the work of thy own hands. Repair all the decays in *his* outward man, that *his* mind may also recover its former strength, to praise and bless thy goodness to *him*.

And visit *him*, in the mean time, with thy heavenly consolation from above. Fill *him* with comfortable thoughts of thy love, and of the tender compassionate care which our Lord Jesus takes of all his afflicted servants. Endue *him* still with more patient submission to thy will, and enable *him* both quietly to wait upon thee, till thou hast finished *his* recovery, and also to continue steadfastly resolved to serve thee more faithfully with *his* restored strength, through Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen*.

Another, in Behalf of the sick Person, when he finds any Abatement of his Distemper.

ACCEPT, O Lord, of the unfeigned thanks of thy servant for abating the fury of *his* present distemper, and giving *him* some hopes of raising *him* up again to praise thee in the great congregation.

It is a great mercy, O Lord, and owing to thy goodness only, that *his* senses are preserved entire, and that *he* hath some respite, after so much uneasiness and pain, through the violence of *his* illness.

O perfect, if it be thy blessed will, what thou hast begun in *him*, and say to the distemper, "It is enough."

Teach *him* hence to look up to thee continually, as the rock of *his* salvation, whence only *he* is to expect comfort and support: and give *him* grace always to make such a

right use of thy favours, that *he* may daily find *himself* surrounded by the light of thy countenance, and enjoy the blessings of thy heavenly benediction in all *his* ways, whether in adversity or prosperity, in sickness or in health. Even so, blessed Lord, continue to assist, strengthen, comfort, and bless *him*, both now and for evermore, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

A Prayer for One who is dangerously ill.

O ALMIGHTY God, "gracious and merciful, and long-suffering, whose compassions fail not;" look down, we beseech thee, upon the low and distressed state of thy servant, now lying in the extremity of sickness. The harder *his* illness presses upon *him*, the louder does it call upon thee for help. O be merciful therefore unto *him*, according to the necessity of *his* case, and according to the multitude of thy tender mercies in Jesus Christ. Rebuke the distemper, that it prevail not over *him* to death; but turn its malevolent aspect into a joyous expectation of life. In as great danger as *he* is, yet if thou wilt, O Lord, we know thou canst make him whole; if thou speakest the word it shall be done. In submission, therefore, to thy most wise and good disposal of all things, we beg this mercy at thy hands, that thou wouldest let "this" bitter "cup pass away" from thy servant, and cause "a way for" him "to escape" out of this dangerous condition. "O spare him a little, and his soul shall live." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person, when Sickness continues long upon him.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

LOOK down, O Lord, we humbly beseech thee, with an eye of compassion on thy poor distressed servant, who hath

lain so long under this severe affliction; and by how much the outward man is decayed and brought low by the tediousness of the distemper's continuing on *him*, by so much the more do thou be pleased to support *him* in the inner man by the gracious assistance of thy Holy Spirit. Give *him* unfeigned repentance for all the errours of *his* past life, and steadfast faith in thy Son Jesus Christ; a comfortable assurance of the truth of all his precious promises, a lively hope of that immortal bliss in which he reigns for evermore, and a strong sense of thy fatherly love to *him*, and care over *him*, which may make *him* heartily love thee, and entirely confide in thee, and absolutely resign both soul and body to thy wise disposal.

We know there is nothing too hard for thee; but that if thou wilt, thou canst bring *him* up even from the gates of death, and grant *him* a longer continuance among us: May it be thy good pleasure, O most gracious God, still to continue *him* here; spare *him*, O Lord, and deliver *him* also speedily from this misery, under which *he* hath so long groaned. Bless all the means that are used for *his* recovery, and for the support of *his* spirits, and give *him* refreshment during this tedious sickness. Release *him* from *his* pain, or grant *him* some ease, or else increase and strengthen *his* patience. Help *him*, in remembrance of thy past loving-kindness, to trust in thy goodness, and submit to thy wisdom, and bear with an equal mind what thou thinkest fit to lay upon *him*; so that approving *himself* to thee in these and all other virtues, while thou tryest *him* by so sore an affliction, he may say at the last, with the holy Psalmist, "It was good for me that I was in trouble."

Unto thy infinite mercies we recommend *him*, and to the compassionate kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, who we hope will hear all the prayers of *his* friends for *him*,

every where, and send his Holy Spirit to be *his* comforter, and *his* good angels to be *his* guardians, and direct those who are to advise and prescribe the means of *his* restoration, and bring *him* to praise thee again in the assemblies of thy saints upon earth; or (if thou hast otherwise disposed in thy wise counsels) to praise thee in the great assembly of saints and angels in heaven; through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, love, and obedience, world without end. *Amen.*

Prayer for the Grace of Patience, and a suitable Behaviour in a sick Person to Friends and Attendants.

HELP thy servant, O thou merciful Redeemer and lover of souls, to undergo this load of affliction, which thou hast laid upon *him*, with patience. "Lead *him*" gently by the hand to "the waters of comfort," and let "thy rod" and "thy staff support" *him*, now that *he* is obliged to "walk in the valley and shadow of death."

Let *him* consider thee, O blessed Jesus, in all thy weary pilgrimage and sufferings here upon earth, before thou enteredst into glory, "that *he* be not weary and faint in *his* mind."

If relief does not come from thee so soon as *he* expects or desires, enable *him* still to hold out with long-suffering, and to wait with patience for it. And whatsoever thou dost with *him*, O Lord, let *him* be "dumb," and not "open *his* mouth" to murmur or repine, because it is "thy doing." Make *him* acquiesce and rest satisfied, even in the bitterest dispensations of thy providence; and let no pains or sufferings ever drive *him* from thee, considering that no "temptation hath befallen *him*" but "what is common to men."

And, together with this patience towards thee, give *him* patience, O merciful Lord, towards all those who kindly and charitably minister to *him*, and attend about *him*.

Keep *him* from being humoursome, and showing crossness to their good counsels, or from being causelessly angry and exceptious against their kind endeavours. If any evil accidents or indiscretions happen, let *him* not presently be outrageous to aggravate them, or break out into any reproachful or unseemly behaviour against them; but let *him* be pleased with the least expression of their kindness, and interpret every thing favourably; and on all occasions let *him* make it *his* study to oblige those who are obliging to *him* in this time of necessity, receiving with thankfulness their good offices, and praying God to reward them, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer for spiritual Improvement by Sickness.

(From Dr. Inet.)

O MERCIFUL Father, who scourgest those whom thou lovest, and chastisest those whom thou wilt receive; let thy loving correction purify thy servant, and make *him* great in thy favour by *his* present humiliation. O let *him* learn "thy statutes" in this school of "affliction:" let *him* "seek thee early" in it, and when *his* "heart is overwhelmed, lead *him* to the rock of salvation."

Let thy "rod" awaken *him* from *his* former security in sin, and let *him* sensibly find, that thou "chastisest *him* for *his* profit, that *he* may be partaker of thy holiness."

Teach *him*, by this proof of thy fatherly correction, to be more dutiful for the time to come; to repent of *his* former offences, and to "redeem the time past," by a double diligence for the future, if thou shalt in mercy raise *him* up again. Let the remainder of *his* life be thine, and

let nothing separate *him* from thy love and service, but let it be *his* whole care and study to provide oil for *his* lamp, and prepare for eternity; that so "all the days of *his* appointed time *he* may wait till *his* change come," and be ready whensoever *his* Lord shall call *him*. *Amen*.

For a Sick Person who is about to make his Will.

O LORD, who puttest into our hearts good desires, and hast inclined thy servant to "set *his* house in order," as well in relation to *his* temporal, as *his* spiritual concerns, grant that *he* may do it with exact justice, according to the rules of our own religion, and the dictates of right reason. *He* unfeignedly thanks thee for thy great mercies, in having so liberally provided for *him*, that *he* may be rather helpful than chargeable to any, and die a benefactor, and not in debt.

We charitably hope, that what *he* is now about to dispose of, was all procured by fair and righteous dealings, that *he* may comfortably feel, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

Let *him* be ready, with good Zaccheus, to make restitution in the best manner *he* is able, and to say with Samuel:

"Behold, here I am; witness against me before the Lord; whose ox have I taken, or whose ass have I taken, or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed, or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? And I will restore it."

Lord, give *him* strength to order all things in as due and regular a manner as if *he* were well. Let *his* memory be perfect, and *his* judgment sound, and *his* heart so rightly disposed, that *he* may do nothing amiss, or through partiality, but that justice and integrity may be seen through the whole conduct of *his* will.

(If rich, add this.)

Let the light of *his* charity likewise shine gloriously before men, that out of the abundance thou hast been pleased to bless *him* with, *he* may plentifully give to the poor and distressed, though no otherwise related to *him*, but as they are members of Jesus Christ, and brethren and sisters of the same communion.

Let *him*, O let *him*, now, O Lord, and at all times, if thou shouldest graciously continue *him* here any longer, make to "*himself* such friends of the unrighteous mammon, that when these fail, they may receive *him* into everlasting habitations." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Sick Penitent.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

RIGHTEOUS art thou, O God, in all the pains and sorrows which punish our sins, and try our patience, and we have none to accuse and complain of for the same but ourselves. This is the acknowledgement which thy servant makes, whom thou hast now afflicted. *He* receives it as the chastisement of a sinner, and is willing to bear chastisement for *his* sins, that *he* may thereby be reclaimed from them. Correct *him*, O Lord, that thou mayest not condemn *him:* and let *him* be judged by thee for *his* sins, and judge *himself* for them here, that *he* may have nothing but mercy without judgment to receive at thine hands hereafter.

But judge *him*, O God, with mercy, and not in thine anger. Judge *him* not according as *his* sins have deserved, but according as *his* weakness can bear, and according as thy compassions are wont to mitigate thy judgments: and let *his* afflictions work in *him* a true repentance, "not to be repented of," and prove a happy means, in the hand of

thy mercy, to reclaim *him* perfectly from all the errours into which *he* hath fallen; and to confer that rest and peace upon *his* soul, which is denied to *his* body; for our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake.

THOU smitest *him*, O gracious God, that thou mayest cure *him*; and punishest *his* sin, that thou mayest thereby amend and reclaim the sinner: and *he* is weary of *his* sins, which have brought upon *him* all these sorrows, and which, as *he* seems now deeply sensible, will bring infinitely worse, unless *he* prevent the same, by *his* timely and sincere repentance.

Help *him*, therefore, to search them out; and when *he* sees them, let *him* not stop at any one, but steadfastly resolve to renounce and amend all: Let thy love make *him* hate every evil way, and render *his* purposes against them strong and resolute, and *his* care in fulfilling the same, vigilant and patient; and grant that the remainder of *his* days may be one continual amendment of *his* former errours, and dedication of *himself* to thy service. *He* desires life, only that *he* may serve thee; Lord, continue and confirm *him* in this purpose.

Lord, cure *his* folly by *his* misery, and teach *him*, by the loss of *his* ease, to purchase the blessing of true repentance, and the comfortable hopes of thy merciful acceptance thereof; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person, who intends to receive the blessed Sacrament.

O THOU infinite and eternal Spirit, from whom every good motion of our hearts proceedeth! who both quickenest the dead, and, after thou hast given life, givest the increase: increase, we beseech thee, the good seeds of thy

grace, which thou hast sown in the heart of thy servant, by inclining *him* to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, in which thou art more immediately present, to illuminate the faithful, and to comfort and refresh all that are "weary and heavy laden with their sins."

O, cause thy face thus comfortably to shine upon thy distressed servant, who now intends to draw near to thee in this sacrament, as thou hast commanded *him*.

Help *him*, in the mean time, O Lord, to fit and prepare *himself* for this holy communion: fill *his* soul with reverence and godly fear; with earnest desires and longings after divine life; with serious repentance for all *his* past offences, and hearty resolutions of living for ever after unto Jesus, who died for *him*. O, let *him* meditate upon *his* bleeding Saviour with a "broken and a contrite heart," which thou hast promised "not to despise:" forgive *him* all that is past, and give *him* grace for the future, to "live more soberly, righteously, and piously, in this present world," if it shall be thy good pleasure to continue *him* in it.

A Prayer for a sick Person that wants Sleep.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

ADORED be thy love, thy wonderful love, O most gracious God, who hast so many ways expressed thy bounty towards us. Thy mercies in Christ Jesus surpass all our thoughts; we are not able to number all the other blessings thou hast bestowed upon us. How much do we owe thee for the quiet sleep of but one night! We see, in this thy poor afflicted servant, how much we ought to thank thee for this single blessing, that our eyes, when we would close them, are not held waking.

Pardon, good Lord, our ingratitude for this and all the rest of thy undeserved mercies; and be pleased graciously

also to visit *him*, who still languishes on *his* sick-bed, looking up to thee, from whom cometh our help. Renew *his* wasted spirits with comfortable sleep; compose *him* to a sweet and undisturbed rest; refresh *him* thereby so sensibly that *he* may be restored to such a degree of strength, as may make *him* able, in some measure, affectionately to acknowledge thy goodness, when thou hast dealt so bountifully with *him:* or if thou delayest to bestow that blessing on *him*, in the multitude of *his* thoughts within *him*, let thy comforts delight *his* soul. If *he* still continues without any rest, grant that *his* mind may rest, and repose itself in the bosom of thy dearest love, and may feel the most sensible consolations from heaven, not only quieting, but greatly rejoicing *his* heart. Preserve the use of *his* understanding, and let the enemy have no advantage of *him;* but make *him* able to say, "I will wait patiently for the Lord, till he incline his ear unto me, and hear my cry.—O, hear *his* prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto *his* cry: O, spare *him*, that *he* may recover strength before *he* go hence*;" for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be said when a sick Person grows light-headed.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O LORD, look down from heaven, in pity and compassion, upon this thine afflicted servant, who is not able now to look up to thee: the more sorrowful *his* condition grows, the fitter object *he* is of thine infinite mercies; who accept-est, we humbly hope, of the submission *he* made of *himself*, in the beginning of *his* sickness, to thine almighty wisdom and goodness. And therefore, since it is thy pleasure to suffer *his* distemper to proceed to this dangerous extremity, do thou no less graciously love *him*, and delight in

* Psalm xl. 1. and xxxix. 12, 13.

him, than if *he* could still give up *himself* to thy blessed will.

And hear, O most merciful Father, our prayers in *his* behalf, when *he* can no longer commend *himself* to thy mercies. Pardon, good Lord, pardon all *his* sins; impute not to *him* any of *his* former follies; lay not to *his* charge *his* not improving, or misusing *his* reason and understanding, which we earnestly, but humbly, entreat thee to restore to *him*, together with such a measure of thy divine grace, as may quicken and assist *him* to employ *his* thoughts to the best purposes, especially in meditating on thy mercies, in studying thy praise, and in exhorting all others to love thee, to trust in thee, and sincerely obey thee.

And while *he* remains thus deprived of *his* reason, be pleased to quiet and compose *his* spirits, or to prevent all furious motions there, or quickly to abate such violent passions, if any arise: for which end, be pleased to remove all frightful imaginations far from *him*, and suffer not the evil one to approach *him*; preserve *him* from doing any harm, either to *himself* or to any others. "Forsake *him* not, O Lord our God, be not far from *him*. Make haste to help *him*, O Lord our salvation*."

"So will we give thanks unto thee for ever."

"We will still be praising thee, and showing forth thy loving kindness to those who succeed us:"

"That they may set their hope in thee our God, and not forget thy works, but keep thy commandments." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person when Danger is apprehended by excessive Sleep.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O MERCIFUL God, let not this deep sleep, which is fallen on thy servant, prove the sleep of death; make it the

* Psalm xxxviii. 21, 22.

sleep of a recovering person, to relieve and revive *him*: and awake *him* out of it in thy due time, to offer thee praise, and to labour still among us, in doing thee honour and service.

But if thou art pleased to take *him* to thyself, Lord, remember and accept of all *his* former prayers and repentance, faith, and patience.

Look not upon *his* sins, but to pardon them; nor on *his* weaknesses, but to pity them: and when *he* awakes in the next world, let *him* find *himself* surrounded with light and bliss, instead of gloominess and sorrow, and awake to eternal life.

Lord, hear us for this thy weak servant in distress. Hear our prayers for *him*, who seems not able now to offer up any prayers to thee for *himself*. And accept both *him* and us to the blessed enjoyment of thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person lying insensible on a Sick-bed.

O THOU Preserver of men, who knowest the frailty of our constitutions; how soon our senses may fail us, and our understanding depart from us; to what accidents, distempers, and decays, our weak nature is subject: even such as may make the most acute and judicious quickly become as fools; and the ablest and strongest, weak and insensible;—look down, we beseech thee, upon thy servant, who now lies in such a weak and insensible condition.

The less able *he* is to assist *himself*, the more need hath *he* of our prayers, and of thy tender mercy to *him*. O thou great Creator of the world, who broughtest light out of darkness, and madest all things out of nothing, and canst restore our dead bodies again after they are mouldered into dust, be pleased to repel the clouds of darkness

which now have taken away the light of our *brother's* understanding, and rendered *him* a companion for the dead.

Quicken *him* again, O Lord, and restore *him* to *his* former senses, that *his* soul may bless and praise thy holy name.

Hear our petitions, O Lord, and receive our prayers for our *brother*, that this image of death, may not be converted into death itself, but that *he* may live to proclaim thy power, and to celebrate thy praises longer upon earth.

But if it be thy will to remove *him* hence in this insensible condition, O pardon, we beseech thee, all *his* offences, and accept of the preparation and repentance that *he* was able to make before the distemper prevailed upon *him* in so deadly a manner. Receive *him*, O Lord, into the arms of thy mercy, and accept *him*, for thy well-beloved Son's sake; that so this short night may quickly be turned into everlasting day; and, after these dark shadows are removed, *he* may find *himself* in a heaven of happiness, where, in "thy light, *he* may see light" for ever. *Amen.*

A Prayer for one who hath been a notoriously wicked Liver.

O Lord God, of infinite goodness and compassion, whose mercies are over all thy works: who makest the sun to shine, and the rain to descend upon the "unjust" as well as the "just," and art kind even to the most unthankful; we humbly beseech thee to look down in mercy upon this thy unworthy servant, who hath so long "trampled upon the riches of thy goodness, not knowing that it should lead to repentance."

Let thy rod, therefore, awaken *him* now to a sense of *his* condition, whom thy goodness hath not reclaimed, and let *him* still find mercy at thy hands, notwithstanding *his* continual abuse of it.

Thou hast promised, O Lord, that, "when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." O make good this thy promise to thy servant here, who stands in so much need of it.

"Hide thy face from *his* sins, and blot out all *his* iniquities:" though they be "red as scarlet," yet do thou make them "white as snow," by repentance, which we beg of thee to give *him*, and to accept, though late, through thine infinite mercies.

Simon Magus, though in the "gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity," was exhorted to repent, and to pray for pardon: and therefore we hope the gate of life is still open for our *brother*, though *he* hath so long shut *himself* out of it, by going on in a course that leadeth to the "chambers of death."

Blessed Lord, let thy terrours at length awaken *him* out of this lethargical condition, before *he* is overtaken by thy judgments. Afflict *him* here, that thou mayest spare *him* hereafter. Soften *his* heart, that *he* may bewail *his* ill-spent life, like Mary Magdalen, with tears of contrition.

O quicken *him* to a sense of *his* duty, and of *his* danger, before it be too late: and when thou hast brought *him* to *his* right mind, receive *him*, we beseech thee, as the compassionate father did his prodigal son, or the shepherd his lost sheep.

Thou, O Lord, who didst pardon the thief upon the cross, hear our prayers for our *brother*, in these *his* great, and, for any thing we know, *his* last agonies.

And, as the fore-mentioned instances are lively significations of thine unbounded goodness, and were written for our comfort and instruction, that none should despair of pardon; so with the greatest confidence we now recommend this our distressed *brother* to thy divine protection,

beseeching thee to forgive all that is past, and to receive *him* at last into thine "everlasting habitation." *Amen.*

A Prayer for one who is hardened and impenitent.

LORD God Almighty, who art the "Father of our spirits," and who "turnest the hearts of men as thou pleasest; who hast mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy, and whom thou wilt, thou hardenest;" let thy merciful ears be open, we pray thee, to the supplications which we now offer to thy Divine Majesty, in the behalf of this thy servant, who appears insensible of *his* sin and folly, and on whom all means to lead *him* to repentance have hitherto seemed vain and ineffectual. Take from *him*, we humbly entreat thee, all ignorance and hardness of heart: remove from *him* all prejudice against, and contempt of, thy sacred word and ministry: let *him* no longer "make a mock of sin," but be sensible that the wisdom he has hitherto gloried in, is the greatest and most dangerous folly. Open thou *his* eyes, that *he* may "see the wonderful things of thy law." Show thy mercy upon *him*, and grant *him* thy salvation. Convince *him* of the vanity and madness, as well as danger, of *his* past ways.

His understanding, we fear, is now darkened, and *his* heart hardened through the deceitfulness of sin: O, do thou enlighten *his* dark mind, and let *him* at last see the beauties of holiness, which have so long been hidden from *his* eyes. Take from *him* this "stony heart, and give *him* an heart of flesh." Awaken *his* slumbering and inattentive soul, that it may delight in things agreeable to its nature, and be employed in things that make for its everlasting peace. O give *him* understanding, and *he* shall yet live. Thou that canst revive souls which are dead in sin and trespasses, and make even such as lie in the grave of corruption to become glorious saints and even martyrs for

religion, hear our prayers for our *brother*, who seems to be on the brink of destruction; and pity poor sinners that have not pity on themselves.

It is the unhappiness of being long accustomed to sin, that we are not soon made sensible of our errours, nor easily made to know them. It is the pride of our nature to be unwilling to acknowledge our faults, and to confess our sins: but let thy grace, O God, teach us to deny this ungodly lust. Do thou humble in us all high and vain imaginations; suppress all proud thoughts and haughty opinions of ourselves. Give us all (and particularly thy servant, for whom we are now interceding) a sense of our own vileness; give us unfeigned repentance for all the errours of our life past; that being cast down, thou mayest raise us up, and become merciful to us, miserable sinners.

Let us all find, by blessed experience, that "we grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that "his commandments" are not "grievous" to us, but rather the delight and desire of our souls; that so at last we may be presented to him "holy and unblameable, and unreproveable in his sight." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Woman that is with Child.

O God, the help of all that put their trust in thee, the support of the weak, and the relief of the needy; look with pity upon this woman, thy servant, who at best acknowledgeth herself but a weak and helpless creature, but much more so now in her present condition, when thou hast added weakness to weakness, and made her to travail with much sickness, together with the burden of child-bearing.

O Lord, be thou graciously pleased to proportion thy strength to her weakness, and as pains and sorrow take

hold upon her, inspire her with fresh vigour and courage to rely upon thee, her only support in time of need, and the rock of her salvation.

Let her not be disquieted with the fear of any evil, since none can happen unto her without thy permission; but give her grace patiently to resign herself to thy blessed will in all things, who knowest what is best for her, and wilt lay no more upon her, we trust, than thou wilt enable her to bear.

Bring strength, O Lord, out of weakness, and health out of sickness; and make her, in thy good time, a joyful mother of a hopeful child, which may do good in its generation, and be an instrument of thy glory here, and a blessed inhabitant of thy heavenly kingdom hereafter. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Woman in the Time of her Travail.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O MOST Mighty Lord, who hast given us innumerable pledges of thy love, and encouraged us to trust in thee for ever, and to expect with quiet and patient minds the issue of thy wise and good providence; we most humbly commend thy servant, in this her extremity, to thy care and blessing; beseeching thee to give her a gracious deliverance, and to ease her of the burthen wherewith she labours. We ourselves are monuments of that mercy which we beg of thee. Thou didst preserve our weak and imperfect frame, before we were born. Thou hast succoured and supported us ever since, many times beyond our hopes, and always beyond our deservings. We commit ourselves and every thing belonging unto us, most heartily into thy hands; remembering that thou hast the same power and goodness still, by which we came into the light

of the living. We cannot desire to be better provided for, than as thy infinite wisdom judgeth most convenient for us; unto that we refer ourselves, beseeching thee, if it be thy good pleasure, that her deliverance may be as speedy as her cries unto thee; or her patience as great and long as her pains. Thou who ripenest the fruits of the earth, and then givest us the gathering of them to our comfort, blast not, we beseech thee, the fruit of the womb; but bring it to maturity, and deliver it safe into thy servant's hand as a new pledge of thy goodness to her, to be an instrument of thy glory, and a future comfort and blessing to thy servant, who travails in so much pain with it now. Or if thou hast otherwise determined, Lord, give her grace to submit to thy holy will and to rest satisfied in thy wise appointments, and never to distrust thy goodness and care over her. Hear us, O Father of mercies, and pardon hers and all our offences, and pity our infirmities: make us more thankful for what we have received, and more fit for the blessing which we now request; and prepare us for all thy future mercies, either in this life, or in the next, through thy infinite love and compassion declared to us, in Christ Jesus our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Woman who cannot be delivered without Difficulty and Hazard.

O Lord God of all comfort and consolation, who art the refuge of the distressed, and the help of all that depend upon thee: we thy unworthy servants do now offer up our supplications at the throne of thy majesty, in the behalf of this thy servant, who is in great pain and misery. Thou hast been pleased to bring the child to the birth, but there is not strength to bring forth. On this account, thy servant is in violent agonies, crying out in her pangs, and

pouring out her soul to thee in prayer. O grant that "it may be in an acceptable time."

"Thou art our salvation; thou shalt preserve us from trouble; thou shalt compass us about with songs of deliverance." O let thy servant feel these blessed effects of thy goodness, and as thou hast brought to the birth, enable her, we beseech thee, to bring forth, that she may rejoice in the workmanship of thy hands, and tell of all thy wondrous works.

Consider the low estate of thine handmaid, and deliver her soul from death, her eyes from tears, and her feet from falling. "Gracious art thou, O Lord, and righteous; thou preservest the simple, and helpest those that are in misery." Help thy servant therefore now, we humbly entreat thee, who stands in so much need of it. Accept her tears, and assuage her pain, as shall seem most expedient for her. And forasmuch as she putteth her whole trust in thee, give her strength and patience proportionable to all her pains and agonies. Support her spirits under them, and, if thou pleasest, carry her safely through the same, and "make her to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice."

"Restore unto her, O Lord, the joy of thy salvation, and uphold her with thy free spirit; then shall she teach transgressors thy way, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Deliver her" from this great affliction, "O God, thou God of her salvation, and her tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness."

* Thy mercies and power are still the same, and will be the same for ever. O let them now be shown in this thy servant's delivery, as they have been formerly on the like

* This to be omitted, if it be the first child.

occasion: that so by having fresh instances of thy loving kindness, she may still praise thee more and more.

O perfect her repentance, and pardon her sins. Give her patience whilst she lives, and peace when she dies, and, after death, the happiness of a blessed eternity, which thou hast promised and prepared for all that love and fear thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for Grace and Assistance for a Woman, after Delivery, but still in Danger.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O FATHER of mercies, what thanks can we worthily give unto thee for thine unspeakable goodness to this thy servant, and her helpless infant, and for the wondrous things which thou has done for her? The pangs of death compassed her, and she found trouble and sorrow. The mouth of the pit was opened, and ready to shut itself upon her: but thou hast graciously assuaged her pains, and turned her sorrows into joy.

Lord, we will ever adore and magnify thy mercy, which has dealt so lovingly with her, and praise thy truth and faithfulness, which have not suffered her hopes to fail. We will never forget how mindful thou hast been of the low estate of thy handmaid; for she has been supported by thy power, O blessed God, in her greatest weakness. She has tasted thy goodness in the midst of all her pangs and sorrows.

Perfect, O Lord, that deliverance to her which thou hast most graciously begun, and let her not be lost, after the wonders which thou hast already done for her.

Continue her patience, and her humble dependence on thee, under the pains and accidents to which she is still

exposed. Support her spirits, and raise her up again in thy due time. Thy mercy and power are still the same, and will be the same for ever. O let them still be shown for her recovery, as they have been already for her delivery; let them be shown upon her, that she may praise thee more and more.

But if, in thy paternal providence, whereunto we pray she may willingly commit herself, thou hast determined otherwise concerning her, thy blessed will be done. Dispose her either to life or death, as thou pleasest, only in both to thy mercy: and whether living or dying, let her still please thee, and be thou her portion. O perfect her repentance, and give her patience whilst she lives, and peace when she dies, and after that, the happiness of a blessed eternity, which thou hast prepared for all that truly fear thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

If the child be living this may be added.

PRESERVE likewise her tender infant, O Father of mercies, and let its own weakness, and our cries, commend it to thy care.

Keep it also afterwards in health and safety, and as it increases in years and stature, let it increase in wisdom, and in thy fear. We beg not for it wealth or greatness, but wisdom to know and to serve thee. For, O Lord, we do not desire life, either for ourselves or it, but that we may live to thee, and grow daily in love and thankfulness for all thy mercies, and in faith and patience, and all holy obedience, which may fit us for the happiness which thou hast promised; through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

Prayers for a sick Child.

[Visitation Office.]

O ALMIGHTY God and merciful Father, to whom alone belong the issues of life and death; look down from heaven, we humbly beseech thee, with the eyes of mercy upon this child, now lying upon the bed of sickness: visit *him*, O Lord, with thy salvation; deliver *him* in thy good appointed time from *his* bodily pain, and save *his* soul for thy mercies' sake; that if it shall be thy good pleasure to prolong *his* days here on earth, *he* may live to thee, and be an instrument of thy glory, by serving thee faithfully, and doing good in *his* generation; or else receive *him* into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of them that sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Grant this, for thy mercies' sake; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

LORD, pity the troubles and weakness of this infant, and pity our sorrows, who are afflicted with it, and for it. Ease it of its pains, and strengthen it when it lies struggling for life. Raise it up again, if it shall please thee, to grow in years and stature, in wisdom and virtue; and thereby to comfort us, and glorify thee.

We believe, O Almighty Father, that thou knowest best what is fit, both for it and us, and wilt do what is fit for both, and therefore we leave it to thee, to dispose of it as thou pleasest. But whether it be to life or death, let it be thine in both, and either preserve it to be thy true and faithful servant here on earth, or take it to the blessedness of thy children in the kingdom of heaven; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person, who, from a State of Health, is suddenly seized with the Symptoms of Death.

O MOST gracious Father, Lord of heaven and earth, Judge of the living and of the dead, behold thy servants turning to thee for pity and mercy, in behalf of ourselves and this thy servant. It was but lately that we beheld *him* in as promising a state of health and life, as any one of us seems to be in at present, and therefore our concern is so much the greater to behold so sudden a change, and so unlooked-for an instance of our mortality.

We know, O Lord, thou canst bring back from the brink of the grave, and as suddenly raise thy servant again as thou hast cast *him* down, and therefore we think it not too late to implore thy mercy upon *him* for *his* recovery; at least we beg of thee to spare *him* a little, that *he* may recover *his* strength, and have time to make *his* peace with thee, "before *he* go hence and be no more seen." But if it be thy will to remove *him* at this time into another world, O let the miracles of thy compassion, and thy wonderful mercy, supply to *him* the want of the usual measures of time, that *he* may fit *himself* for eternity. And let the greatness of *his* calamity be a means to procure *his* pardon for those defects and degrees of unreadiness which this sudden stroke hath caused. And teach us all, we beseech thee, from this unexpected fate of our *brother* to be continually upon our guard, and to watch and pray, since we know not the hour when the "Master of the house cometh," whether "in the evening, or at midnight, or in the morning."

Lord, thou hast now called thy servant before *he* was aware of it; O, give *him* such a great and effectual repentance in this exigence, that in a short time it may be suffi-

cient to do the work of many days. Thou regardest, O Lord, the sincerity of our hearts more than the measures of time in our conversion; accept therefore, we beseech thee, the few minutes of thy servant's unfeigned tears and humiliation for *his* sins, as if they were hours and days of a longer preparation; and let it be thy pleasure to rescue *him* from all the evils *he* deserves, and all the evils *he* fears, that in the songs of eternity, which angels and saints shall sing to the glory of thy name, this also may be reckoned amongst thine invaluable mercies, that thou hast redeemed *his* soul from death, and made *him* partaker of eternal life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person, when there appeareth small Hope of Recovery.

[Visitation Office.]

O FATHER of mercies and God of all comfort, our only help in time of need; we fly unto thee for succour in behalf of this thy servant, here lying under thy hand in great weakness of body. Look graciously upon *him*, O Lord, and the more the outward man decayeth, strengthen *him*, we beseech thee, so much the more continually with thy grace and Holy Spirit in the inner man. Give him unfeigned repentance for all the errours of *his* life past, and steadfast faith in thy Son Jesus, that *his* sins may be forgiven and *his* pardon sealed in heaven, before *he* go hence, and be no more seen. We know, O Lord, that there is no work impossible with thee, and that, if thou wilt, thou canst even yet raise *him* up, and grant *him* a longer continuance among us. Yet forasmuch as in all appearance the time of *his* dissolution draweth near, so fit, and prepare *him*, we beseech thee, against the hour of death, that

after *his* departure hence in peace, and in thy favour, *his* soul may be received into thine everlasting kingdom; through the mediation of Jesus Christ thy Son, our Saviour, *Amen.*

A general Prayer for Preparation and Readiness to die.

LORD, "what is our life, but a vapour, which appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away?" Even at the longest, how short and transitory! and when we think ourselves most secure, yet we know not what a day may bring forth; nor how soon thou mayest come, before we are aware, to call us to our last account.

Quickly shall we be as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again. Quickly shall we be snatched away hence, and our place here shall know us no more.

Our bodies shall soon lie down in the grave, and our souls be summoned to appear before the tribunal of Christ, to receive our everlasting doom; and yet, O Lord, how do the generality of mankind live in this world, as if they were never to leave it! How unmindful are we all of our departure! how improvident of our time! how careless of our souls, and negligent in our preparations for eternity! so that thou mightest justly cut us off in the midst of our sins, and our unpreparedness to appear before thee. But, O God of all comfort and mercy, remember not our sins against thee, but remember thy own love to us in Jesus Christ, and thy tender mercies which have been ever of old. O, remember how short our time is, and "so teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

In the days of our health and prosperity, let us, from the example of our *brother's* weakness, remember our own approaching fate; and let *him*, from the sudden change of

health to sickness, consider how few and evil all *his* days have been, and that there is no satisfaction in any thing, but in knowing thee, O God. Lord, what have we to do in this world, but to devote ourselves wholly to thy service, and to make ready for the world to come? O, that we may all of us be mindful of this "one thing necessary," that we may finish our "work," before we finish our "course."

Quicken thy servant, O Lord, into a powerful and serious consideration of these things, now thou hast brought *him* into a more intimate acquaintance with them. Instruct and assist *him* in this great work of preparation to die. Show *him* how to do it, and help *him* with good success to perform it, that when the time of *his* dissolution draweth near, *he* may have nothing else to do, but to resign *himself* willingly and cheerfully into thy hands, as into the hands of a merciful Creator, there to remain with thee for ever in that blessed place, where sin and sickness and death shall be no more. *Amen.*

A commendatory Prayer for a sick Person at the point of Departure.

[Visitation Office.]

O ALMIGHTY GOD, with whom do live the spirits of just men made perfect; we humbly commend the soul of this thy servant our dear *brother* into thy hands, as into the hands of a faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee, that it may be acceptable in thy sight. And teach us, who survive, by this and other daily instances of mortality, to see how frail and uncertain our own condition is, and so to number our days that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly wisdom, which may bring us to life everlasting; through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord. *Amen.*

A Litany for a sick Person, at the time of Departure.

(From Bishop Andrews.)

O God, the Father of heaven,
Have mercy upon *him:*
Keep and defend *him.*
O God the Son, Redeemer of the world,
Have mercy upon *him:*
Save and deliver *him.*
O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son,
Have mercy upon *him:*
Strengthen and comfort *him.*
O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity,
Have mercy upon *him.*

Remember not, Lord, *his* offences; call not to mind the offences of *his* forefathers; but spare *him*, good Lord, spare thy servant, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, and be not angry with *him* for ever.

From thy wrath and indignation; from the fear of death; from the guilt and burden of *his* sins, and from the dreadful sentence of the last judgment;

Good Lord deliver *him.*

From the sting of conscience: from impatience, distrust, or despair; and from the extremity of sickness or agony, which may any ways withdraw *his* mind from thee;

Good Lord deliver *him.*

From the powers of darkness; from the illusions and assaults of our ghostly enemy; and from the bitter pangs of eternal death;

Good Lord deliver *him.*

From all danger and distress; from all terrours and torments; from all pains and punishments, both of the body and of the soul;

Good Lord deliver *him*.

By thy manifold and great mercies; by the manifold and great mercies of Jesus Christ thy Son; by his agony and bloody sweat; by his strong crying and tears; by his bitter cross and passion; by his resurrection and ascension; by his intercession and mediation; and by the graces and comforts of the Holy Ghost;

Good Lord deliver *him*.

In this time of extremity; in *his* last and greatest need; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment;

Good Lord deliver *him*.

We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God; that it may please thee to be *his* defender and keeper; to remember *him* with the favour thou bearest unto thy people, and to visit *him* with thy salvation:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to save and deliver *his* soul from the power of the enemy, to receive it to thy mercy, and to give *him* a quiet and joyful departure:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to be merciful, and to forgive all the sins and offences, which at any time of *his* life *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee not to lay to *his* charge, what in the lust of the flesh, or in the lust of the eye, or in the pride of life, *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee not to lay to *his* charge, what in the fierceness of *his* wrath, or in vain and idle words, *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to make *him* partaker of all thy mercies, and promises, in Christ Jesus:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to grant *his* body rest and peace, and a part in the blessed resurrection of life and glory:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to vouchsafe *his* soul the enjoyment of everlasting happiness, with all the blessed saints, in thy heavenly kingdom:

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world;

Grant *him* thy peace.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world;

Have mercy upon *him*.

O Saviour of the world, &c.
Unto thy gracious, &c. } as in page 399.

Form of recommending the Soul to God, in her Departure from the Body.

(From Bishop Cosins.)

INTO thy merciful hands, O Lord, we commend the soul of this thy servant, now departing from the body. Receive *him*, we humbly beseech thee, into the arms of thy mercy, into the glorious society of thy saints in heaven. *Amen.*

God the Father, who hath created thee; God the Son, who hath redeemed thee; God the Holy Ghost, who hath infused his grace into thee; be now and evermore thy defence, assist thee in this thy last trial, and bring thee to everlasting life. *Amen.*

(From Bishop Taylor.)

I.

O HOLY and most gracious Jesus, we humbly recommend the soul of thy servant into thy hands, thy most mer-

ciful hands: let thy blessed angels stand in ministry about thy servant, and protect *him* in *his* departure. *Amen.*

II.

Lord, receive the soul of this thy servant: enter not into judgment with *him;* spare *him* whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and deliver *him* from all evil and mischief, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from the fear of death, and from everlasting condemnation. *Amen.*

III.

LORD, impute not unto *him* the follies of *his* youth, nor any of the errours of *his* life; but strengthen *him* in *his* agony, and carry *him* safely through the last distress. Let not *his* faith waver, nor *his* hope fail, nor *his* charity be diminished; let *him* die in peace, and rest in hope, and rise in glory. *Amen.*

O SAVIOUR of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us; save and help this thy departing servant, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord. *Amen.*

UNTO thy gracious mercy and protection we commit *him.* O Lord, bless *him*, and keep *him.* Make thy face to shine upon *him*, and be gracious unto *him.* Lift up thy countenance upon *him*, and give *him* peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

A consolatory Form of Devotion that may be used with the Friends or Relations of the Deceased.

"SORROW not, brethren, for them which are asleep, even as others, who have no hope.

"For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again; even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him." 1 Thes. iv. 13, 14.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good unto him." 1 Sam. iii. 18.

"The righteous is taken away from the evil to come." Isaiah, lvii. 1.

"Though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest.

"The honourable age is not that which standeth in length of days, nor that which is measured by number of years:

"But wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age." Wisd. iv. 7, 8, 9.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints." Psalm cxvi. 15.

"Yea, blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord; even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours." Rev. xiv. 13.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

"Lord, thou hast been our refuge from one generation to another.

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, thou art God from everlasting, and world without end.

"Thou turnest man to destruction; again thou sayest, Come again, ye children of men.

"For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, seeing that is past as a watch in the night.

"As soon as thou scatterest them, they are even as a sleep, and fade away suddenly like the grass.

"In the morning it is green, and groweth up; but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered.

"For we consume away in thy displeasure, and are afraid of thy wrathful indignation.

"Thou hast set our misdeeds before thee, and our secret sins in the light of thy countenance.

"For when thou art angry, all our days are gone; we bring our years to an end, as it were a tale that is told.

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.

"Turn thee again at last, and be gracious to thy servants.

"Comfort *them* again, now after the time that thou hast afflicted *them*, *and for the present occasion*, wherein they suffer adversity.

"O satisfy *them* with thy mercy, and that soon; so shall *they* rejoice, and be glad all the days of *their* life."

Most just art thou, O God, in all thy dealings with us, and "our punishment is less than our iniquities deserve;" and therefore we desire to submit with all humility and patience to this dispensation of thy divine providence. Be pleased so to sanctify it to this family, that thy grace and mercy may more abundantly flow upon thy servants. Thy property it is to bring good out of evil; O turn that evil,

which is now befallen this house, to the benefit of every one of us, that so we may be able to say, from happy experience, that "the house of mourning is better than the house of feasting," while the death of our *brother*, through thy blessing, shall conduce and minister to our spiritual advantage.

Let the sight of *his* change make us the more mindful of our own, and the sense of our loss make us cleave more steadfastly to thee, O God. Let the remembrance of *his* virtues make us follow *his* example, and the hope we have of *his* being blessed, cause us to "press," with the more earnestness, "towards the mark, for the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus."

Thou knowest, O Lord, the weakness and frailty of our nature, and therefore we beseech thee to give thy servants, who are more nearly concerned in this visitation, a constant supply of thy good Spirit, to enable them to bear it with humility, patience, resignation, and submission to thy divine will, as becometh the Gospel of Jesus Christ. O that no repining thoughts may rise in their hearts to discompose their duty towards thee, or towards their neighbour: but help them rather to think wherein they have offended thee, and carefully to amend it: to place their affections more steadfastly on those immoveable things which are above, and freely resign all their thoughts and desires unto thee; saying, with holy Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." And let the death of thy servant strike us all with such a lively sense of our mortality, as may cause us so thoroughly to die to sin, and live to grace, that when we die, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our *brother* doth.

We evidently see "that death is the end of all men;" grant us therefore grace to lay it to heart, to despise the world, "to abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that

which is good;" to delight in thy word, to study thy will, to observe thy law, and to take all possible care to promote thy honour, and our own salvation; that when "we go the way of all earth, we may be comforted by thy presence," and admitted into thy heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and give us peace, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND DEVOTIONS FOR THE SICK AND UNFORTUNATE IN EXTRAORDINARY CASES.

A Prayer for a Person whose Illness is chiefly brought on him *by some calamitous Disaster or Loss, as of Estate, Relations, or Friends, &c.*

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O MOST gracious and glorious God, supreme Judge and Governour of the world, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," and from whom all the blessings we enjoy, and "every good and perfect gift cometh," grant us, we humbly beseech thee, such a measure of thy grace, that whenever thou art pleased to remove any of thy blessings from us, we may bear it with a perfect resignation to thy divine will, and with all patience, humility, and contentedness of spirit, consider how unworthy we are of the least of thy mercies.

More particularly, O Lord, we beseech thee to give this peaceableness and contentedness of mind, to this thy servant, whom thou hast so sensibly afflicted, by taking so near and dear a blessing from *him*. O give *him* such a portion of thy blessed Spirit, and such a lively sense of *his* duty, that *he* may have power to surmount all the difficulties *he* labours under, and freely to resign all *his* thoughts and desires unto thee, submitting *himself* entirely to thy good providence, and resolving, by thy gracious assistance, to rest contented with whatsoever thou in thy wisdom appointest for *him*. Thou knowest, O Lord, the weakness and frailty of our nature, and therefore be pleased to comfort *him* in this bed of sickness; establish *him* with the light of thy countenance; and grant that no repining thoughts may increase *his* illness, or discompose *his* duty towards thee, or *his* neighbour; but enable *him* to think wherein *he* hath offended thee, and carefully to amend *his* errours; to set *his* affections on things above, and not on things below, and to lay up for *himself* treasures in heaven, even the treasures of a good life, which no disasters or calamities shall ever be able to take from *him*. Grant this, O heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person, who by any calamitous Disaster hath broken any of his *Bones, or is very much bruised and hurt in* his *Body.*

(From Mr. Jenks.)

O Lord the only disposer of all events, thou hast taught us that "affliction cometh not forth of the dust; neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;" but that the disasters which befal us, are by thy appointment. Thou art just in all thou bringest upon us: and though thy "judgments are far above out of our sight," yet we know "that

they are right, and that it is in very faithfulness thou causest us to be afflicted." "Why then should a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?" Let these considerations prevail with thy servant to submit to thy dispensations. Make *him* resolve to bear the effects of thy displeasure, and to consider it as the just desert of *his* sins. O Lord, give *him* patience and strength, and grace, proportionable to this great trial; and enable *him* so to conduct *himself* under it, that after the affliction is removed *he* may find cause to say, "it was good for *him* to be afflicted." Thou that hast torn and smitten, thou art able to heal and to comfort. Be pleased to remember *him* in this *his* low estate. Cause *him* to "search and try *his* ways, and turn to thee, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

We know, O Lord, thou canst raise *him* up from the deepest affliction: O, let it be thy gracious will, to glorify thy power and mercy in *his* recovery; or, however thou shalt think fit to dispose of this "vile body," grant *him*, O God, a mind entirely resigned to thy will, and satisfied with thy dispensations. O, make this calamity the messenger of thy love to *his* soul, and the happy means of *his* conversion; through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person that is afflicted with grievous Pains of his *Body.*

(From Mr. Jenks.)

O LORD, thou art a merciful God, and dost not willingly afflict the children of men; but when necessity requires, thou chastisest us for our profit, that we may be partakers of thy holiness. Remove, we beseech thee, this affliction from thy servant, or enable *him* to bear what thou art pleas-

ed to lay upon *him*. Lord, all *his* desire is before thee, and *his* groaning is not hid from thee. Regard *his* affliction, when thou hearest *his* cry. Enter not into judgment with *him*, nor deal with *him* according to *his* sins, but according to thy mercy in Jesus Christ. O gracious Father, sanctify to *him* what thou hast laid upon *him*, that *his* present affliction may work out for *him* an eternal weight of glory. Support *him* under *his* pains, till it shall please thee to grant *him* ease and comfort. And, however thou shalt deal with *him*, let *him* not repine at thy correction, nor sin in charging thee foolishly. Make *him* sensible, that thou doest nothing but what is wise and just; nothing but what thy servant shall one day have cause to bless and praise thee for doing. And let this consideration teach *him* to glorify thee in the time of *his* visitation, by an humble submission to thy will, and a sincere reformation under thy providential dispensations; that thou mayest visit *him* in mercy and love, and show *him* the joy of thy salvation; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for one who is troubled with acute Pains of the Gout, Stone, Cholic, or any other bodily Distemper.

(From Mr. Spinkes.)

O BLESSED God, just and holy, who dost not willingly afflict the children of men: withhold not, we beseech thee, thy assistance from this thy servant in the extremity of *his* pain. *His* sorrows are increased, and *his* soul is full of trouble. *He* has none to flee unto, for the ease and mitigation of *his* agonies, but to thee, O Lord. *He* freely owns that *his* sufferings are infinitely less than *he* has deserved; yet, since they pierce deep, and are become almost too heavy for *him* to bear, we presume to call upon thee for aid;

and to entreat thee not to punish *him* according to *his* deserts. "For if thou shouldest be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it?" Spare *him* therefore for thy mercy's sake; and correct *him* "not in thine anger, lest thou bring *him* to nothing." Endue *him* with that patience which may enable *him* cheerfully to submit to thy chastisement; and grant *him* an unfeigned repentance for all *his* sins. Comfort *his* soul, which melteth away for very heaviness, and let thy loving mercy come unto *him*. Sanctify this thy fatherly correction to *him*, that it may be for thy glory, and *his* advantage. And when thy gracious ends in afflicting *him* shall be accomplished, which we know are not for "thy pleasure," but for *his* profit, give *him*, we beseech thee, a fresh occasion to rejoice in thy saving health; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person in the Small-Pox, or any such-like raging infectious Disease.

O GRACIOUS and merciful Father, the only giver of health, look down, we beseech thee, with an eye of compassion, upon thy miserable and disconsolate servant, from whom thou hast taken this great and valuable blessing; and, instead of it, hath filled every part of *his* body with a sore disease.

Teach *him*, O Lord, and teach us all from hence, to consider how soon the beauty of life is blasted, like a flower, and our "strength dried up like a potsherd," that we may not put our trust in any of these transitory things, but in thee only, the living God, who art able to save and to destroy, to kill and to make alive.

Our *brother*, whom we now behold a spectacle of misery, was lately, like one of us, in perfect health. But now "thou makest *his* beauty to consume away, as it were a moth fret-

ting a garment. Thine arrows stick fast in *him*, and thy hand presseth *him* sore; so that there is no soundness in *his* flesh, because of thine anger; neither is there any rest in *his* bones by reason of *his* sin.

"O, reject *him* not utterly, but take thy plague away from *him*. Return, O Lord, and that speedily: for *his* spirit faileth. O leave *him* not in *his* distress; for though the world may forsake *him*, *his* sure trust is in thee. To thee, O Lord, does *he* cry; to thee doth *he* stretch forth *his* hands; *his* soul thirsteth after thee as a barren and dry land. Lord, all *his* desire is before thee, and *his* groaning is not hid from thee. Comfort *him* therefore again now after the time that thou hast afflicted *him*, and for the days wherein *he* hath suffered adversity."

Put a stop, O Lord, we beseech thee, to this raging infection, and say to the destroying angel, "It is enough." Protect us under the shadow of thy wings, that we may not "be afraid of any terrour by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon day:" but that, with ease in our minds, and health in our bodies, we may serve thee cheerfully all the days of our life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person in a Consumption, or any lingering Disease.

(From Mr. Jenks.)

O MERCIFUL God, thou hast long kept thy servant under thy chastening hand; thou hast made *him* acquainted with grief; and *his* sickness is even become *his* familiar companion: yet, O blessed Lord, grant that *he* may not be impatient under thy chastisement, who art pleased to wait

so long for the return of a sinner: but let *him* remember that thou hast kind intentions, even in thy bitterest dispensations; that thou "chasteneth *him* whom thou lovest, and scourgest every son whom thou receivest." Teach *him*, O gracious Father, to see love in thy rod, and justice in all thy dealings; that *he* may humble *himself* under thy mighty hand; that *he* may think it good for *him* to have been afflicted, and patiently wait for thy loving-kindness.

Yet, that *his* faith may not fail, nor *his* patience be overcome, give *him* ease and relaxation from *his* pain; and a happy conclusion of this long visitation. In the mean time, grant that *he* may neither despise thy chastening, nor faint under thy rebukes; but employ the time which thou lendest, and improve the affliction which thou continuest, as a gracious opportunity for *his* spiritual advantage; that under the decays of the body, the inner man may be renewed day by day; and that whatever appertains to *his* everlasting salvation may be promoted and perfected, through the riches of thy grace, and the multitude of thy mercies in Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person, who is lame in his *Sickness.*

(From Mr. Lewis.)

O ALMIGHTY God, who "art eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame," have pity, we entreat thee, on thy servant: help *him* in *his* distress, and bless, we pray thee, the means made use of for *his* cure. Make *him* sensible of thy design in visiting *him* with this affliction; cause *him* to remember, how in *his* strength and health, *he* followed *his* own devices, and the desire of *his* own heart; and let *him* see, that thou hast lifted up thy hand against *him*, for this very purpose, that *he* may learn to walk more humbly with thee,

and turn *his* feet to thy testimonies. Deliver *him* from the painful confinement under which *he* labours, and grant *him* again the happiness of enjoying the comforts of life, and of worshipping thee in thy sanctuary, with the "voice of joy and praise." But, O Lord, not our will, but thine be done. Thou knowest better what is good for us, than we ourselves; and it is in wisdom that thou afflictest us. Give thy servant patience, that *he* may bear *his* pains without murmuring, and wait the time of *his* deliverance from them without uneasiness; satisfy *him* of thy care over *him*, and thy tender regard to *him*: and in thy good time restore *him* to *his* former strength and vigour, that *he* may give thanks to thee in the great congregation; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer for one that is bed-ridden.

(From Mr. Lewis.)

O LORD our God, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, have compassion, we entreat thee, on the helpless condition of thy servant: support *his* spirits, which are ready to droop under affliction: refresh *his* mind, which is apt to be uneasy and melancholy at the thought of perpetual confinement. Give sleep to *his* eyes, and rest to *his* weary thoughts. Cause *him* to meditate on thee in the night watches; to "commune with *his* own heart;" and, in *his* solitude, "to search and try *his* ways," that *he* may see wherein *he* hath erred, and may turn unto thee with all *his* soul, and with all *his* strength. Let this affliction be the means of preparing *him* for the enjoyment of thy presence, in which is fulness of joy; and let *him* be the more patient under it for that reason. Make *him* thankful, that thou hast by this expedient preserved *him*

from the company of those whose evil communication might have corrupted *his* heart, and hast taken him out of a world, by the snares and temptations of which *he* might have been prevailed upon to forsake thee, and turn from the way of thy commandments. Grant, O Lord, that *he* may not render *himself* unworthy of thy favour, by murmuring and repining; but that *he* may use the leisure and opportunity now given *him*, to make *his* peace with thee, and be fitted for the enjoyment of an inheritance among the saints in light; through thy mercy in Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person troubled in Mind, or in Conscience.

[Visitation Office.]

O BLESSED Lord, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comforts, we beseech thee, look down in pity and compassion upon this thine afflicted servant. Thou writest bitter things against *him*, and makest *him* to possess *his* former iniquities: thy wrath lieth hard upon *him*, and *his* soul is full of trouble. But, O merciful God, who hast given us thy holy word for our learning, that we through patience, and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope: give *him* a right understanding of *himself*, and of thy threatenings and promises; that *he* may neither cast away *his* confidence in thee, nor place it any-where but in thee. Give *him* strength against all temptations, and heal all *his* infirmities. Break not the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. Shut not up thy tender mercies in displeasure, but make *him* hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Deliver *him* from the fear of the enemy; lift up the light of thy countenance upon *him*, and give *him* peace, through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Another for the same, or for one under deep Melancholy and Dejection of Spirit.

(From Mr. Jenks.)

O MOST gracious Lord, thou knowest our frame, and art full of compassion to thy servants under their trouble and oppression; look down upon us, we humbly beseech thee, with thy wonted pity, and remember the work of thy hands, our disconsolate *brother*. Thy wrath lies hard upon *him;* and all thy waves are gone over *him;* thy terrours oppress *his* mind, and disturb *his* reason. O thou that speakest the winds and waves into obedience and calmness, settle and quiet *his* discomposed thoughts; speak peace and satisfaction to *his* troubled mind, and give *him* comfort and sure confidence in the sense of thy pardon and love. Lord, help *his* unbelief, and increase *his* faith. Though *he* walk in the valley and shadow of death, let "thy rod and thy staff, support and protect *him*." In the multitude of the thoughts and sorrows that *he* hath in *his* heart, let thy comfort refresh *his* soul. Let in a beam of thy heavenly light, to dispel the clouds and darkness, in which *his* mind is involved. O direct to the means most proper for *his* help, and so bless and prosper them, that they may effectually promote *his* recovery out of this deplorable state. Incline *his* ears to wholesome counsels, and dispose *his* heart to receive due impressions. O gracious Father, pity *his* frailty, forgive *his* sin, and rebuke *his* distemper, that *his* disquieted soul may return to its rest. O, raise *him* up, and show thy mercy upon *him*, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

For the same.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

PRESERVE this thy servant, O gracious Father, from dishonouring thee and *his* religion, by distrusting thy power, or thy goodness.

Remove all troublesome imaginations from *him*, and give *him* a clear understanding of thee, and of *himself*, that no causeless fears and jealousies may overwhelm *him*, nor *his* heart sink within *him* from any sadness and dejection of spirit. Compose, we beseech thee, *his* disturbed thoughts; quiet his disordered mind, and appease all the tumults of *his* soul, by a sweet sense of thy tender mercies, and of the love of thy Son Jesus Christ to mankind. Keep *him* from forming any rash conclusions concerning thy providence; and give *him* so much light and judgment amid all the darkness and confusion of *his* thoughts, that *he* may not think *himself* forsaken by thee; but may firmly believe, that if *he* does the best *he* can, thou requirest no more. And enable *him*, O Lord, to look forwards, to that region of light and glory, whither our Saviour is gone before, to prepare a place for all thy faithful servants.

Strengthen *his* week and feeble endeavours. Support *his* fainting spirit, and cause it humbly to hope in thee. Confirm and establish every good thought, desire, and purpose, which thou hast wrought in *him*. Make *him* to grow in wisdom, faith, love, and willing obedience. Conduct *him* hereafter so easily and steadily, peaceably and quietly, so cheerfully and securely in thy ways, that *he* may glorify thee whilst *he* lives, and when *he* leaves this troublesome world, may resign *his* soul into thy merciful hands, with a pious confidence and a hope of a joyful resurrection; through the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for one under Fears and Doubts concerning his *spiritual Condition, or under perplexing Thoughts and Scruples about* his *Duty.*

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O LORD our God, we offer up our humble supplication to thee, in behalf of this thy servant, whose soul is disquieted within *him* by *his* fears and anxiety, respecting the safety of *his* condition. Remove from *him*, we entreat thee, all frightful apprehensions, all perplexing doubts and scruples about *his* duty. Make *him* satisfied and settled in a right understanding of all thy precepts, and careful in the observance of them; and dispel, by the light of thy countenance, all that darkness which obscures *his* soul, that *he* may not be unnecessarily dejected, and distrustful of *himself*, or dishonourably jealous of thee. Deliver *him* from all those offences, which make *him* so much a stranger to peace and comfort; and cause *him* to place *his* chief satisfaction and delight in obeying thy commandments, and in meditating on thy mercy; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

A Prayer for one who is disturbed with wicked and blasphemous Thoughts.

(From Mr. Lewis.)

O LORD God, the Father of our spirits, to whom all hearts are open, and all desires known; we humbly entreat thee to succour and relieve this thy servant, who labours under the burden of wicked thoughts. Let thy power and goodness be shown in healing *his* disordered mind. Cleanse the thoughts of *his* heart by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit. Suffer them not to be defiled by any profane or blasphemous suggestions, but heal the soul of thy servant,

by enabling *him* to stifle and suppress all such thoughts, as tend to rob *him* of *his* peace, or deprive *him* of the comforts of religion. Enable *him* to be of an equal and steady temper, to be mild and gentle in *his* behaviour, and to keep *his* hopes and fears within due bounds. Make *him* sensible of the wise and kind reasons of these afflictions; that, if they are duly improved, they may be powerful preservatives of *his* soul against the prevailing sins of a licentious age; may lessen *his* inclinations to the enjoyments of this life, and deaden *his* appetite to sensual pleasure, and the perishing goods of this world; that these afflictions may dispose *him* to compassionate the sufferings of others, and make *him* more thoroughly feel *his* own infirmities, and the want of divine assistance. Open *his* eyes, that *he* may see and know the wise and gracious dispensations of thy providence; and, by humbling *himself* under them, may at length be lifted up and made a partaker of that peace and joy which thou bestowest on all thy faithful servants. Grant this for the sake of Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Redeemer.

A Prayer for one who is afflicted with a profane Mistrust of Divine Truths, and blasphemous Thoughts.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O MOST gracious God, in whose hand is the soul of every living creature; protect this thy servant, we humbly and earnestly entreat thee, against all doubts and mistrusts of thy truth, against all irreligious thoughts and suggestions.

Never suffer them, O Lord, to weaken *his* faith, or to hinder *him* from performing *his* duty. Preserve *him* not only from the sin, but, if it seem good to thine infinite

wisdom, from the temptation and the sorrow which may attend them.

But, if it be thy blessed will to continue these terrifying thoughts for *his* trial and humiliation, Lord, make *him* sensible that they will not be imputed to *him* as sin, if, as soon as *he* perceives them, *he* rejects them with horrour and indignation.

During this trial, let *him* learn to depend upon thee, that as often as these profane thoughts arise in *his* mind, he may find grace to overcome them, and without the least indulgence or delay to cast them out; and that *he* may learn to show patience under them, as under every other affliction and trial of thy appointment, trusting to thy grace to assist *him*, and to thy goodness to deliver *him;* through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer for one under the Dread of God's Wrath and everlasting Damnation.

(From Mr. Lewis.)

O ALMIGHTY God, the aid of all that need, and the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, accept, we beseech thee, our humble supplications for this thy servant, labouring under the dismal apprehensions of thy wrath.

O Lord, enter not into judgment with *him;* make *him* sensible that, though the wages of sin are death, the gift of God is eternal life; that thou hatest the death of a sinner, and art not willing that any should perish; that thou always punishest less than we deserve, and in the midst of judgment rememberest mercy. Revive *his* soul with a sense of thy love, and the hopes of obtaining thy pardon, and the joy of thy salvation; that *he* may be raised from this dejection, and show with gladness what thou hast done

for his soul: All this we humbly beg for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Lunatick.

(From Mr. Jenks.)

O LORD, the only wise God, from whom we have received all the faculties of our souls; thou art holy and righteous in all thy dispensations, though the reason of them is frequently unknown to us. Dispel, we humbly beseech thee, if it be agreeable to thine infinite wisdom, the clouds, in which the soul of thy servant is now involved; that *he* may regain *his* understanding, and the right use of *his* faculties. Heal *his* disordered mind; settle and quiet *his* passions; pacify and compose *his* imagination.

O prosper the means which are used for *his* recovery. Make *him* tractable in the use of remedies, and willing to comply with the advice of *his* friends. But if no means can effect *his* cure, let *him* possess *his* soul in peace and composure, and in every interval of reason address *his* prayer to thee; that, when *his* earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, *he* may rejoice in *his* former inability to pursue the pleasures of the world, and be presented unto thee, pure and undefiled; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for natural Fools, or Madmen.

(From Mr. Kettlewell.)

O ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, pity, we entreat thee, this thy unhappy creature, who knows not *his* own wants, nor how to ask for thy mercies. Compassionate, O Lord, *his* infirmities, and supply *his* necessities. Let thy wisdom prevent those evils which *he* cannot foresee, or wants understanding to remove; but especially keep *him* from doing any thing that may be hurtful either to *himself* or others.

Let *his* mind, on all occasions, be quiet and peaceable; and, as far as *his* faculties extend, exercised in piety and devout meditations. O hear our cry when we call upon thee: hear us for *him* who is not able to pray for *himself;* grant *him* thy fatherly care at present, and thy peace at the last; through the mediation of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

PROPER PSALMS FOR A SICK PERSON AT SEA.

I.

1. SAVE me, O God, for the waters are come in, even unto my soul.

2. I am come into deep waters, so that the floods run over me. *Psalm* lxix. 1, 2.

3. The floods are risen, O Lord, the floods have lift up their voice: the floods lift up their waves.

4. The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly: but yet the Lord who dwelleth in heaven, is mightier. *Psalm* xciii. 4, 5.

5. He maketh the storm to cease, so that the waves thereof are still.

6. Wherefore unto thee, O Lord, do I cry in my trouble: deliver me out of my distress. *Psalm* cvii. 29, 28.

7. Thou shalt show us wonderful things in thy righteousness, O God of our salvation: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea. *Psalm* lxv. 5.

8. Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born; thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb; my praise shall always be of thee. *Psalm* lxxi. 5, 6.

9. I will cry unto thee, Thou art my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation. *Psalm* lxxxix. 26.

10. Withdraw not thou thy mercy from me, O Lord; let thy loving-kindness and truth always preserve me.

11. For innumerable troubles are come about me; my sins have taken such hold upon me, that I am not able to look up; yea, they are more in number than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me.

12. O Lord, let it be thy pleasure to deliver me: make haste, O Lord, to help me. *Psalm* xl. 11, 12, 13.

II.

1. Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice.

2. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. *Psalm* cxxx. 1, 2.

3. For I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me. *Psalm* cix. 21.

4. My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me.

5. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me. *Psalm* lv. 4, 5.

6. I go hence like the shadow that departeth, and am driven away like a grasshopper. *Psalm* cix. 22.

7. O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hidden from thee. *Psalm* lxix. 5.

8. Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit; in a place of darkness, and in the deep.

9. Thine indignation lieth hard upon me, and thou hast vexed me with all thy storms. *Psalm* lxxxviii. 5, 6.

10. Thou breakest me with a tempest, and my roarings are poured out like waters. *Job*, ix 17. iii. 24.

11. O reject me not utterly, and be not exceeding wroth against thy servant. *Lament.* v. 22.

12. For my soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell. *Psalm* lxxxviii. 2.

13. I am brought into so great trouble and misery, that I go mourning all the day long.

14. For my loins are filled with a sore disease, and there is no whole part in my body. *Psalm* xxxviii. 6, 7.

15. My wounds stink and are corrupt, through my foolishness. *Psalm* xxxviii. 5.

16. Behold, O Lord, I am in distress, my bowels are troubled, my heart is turned within me, for I have grievously transgressed. *Lament.* i. 20.

17. O remember not the sins and offences of my youth, but according to thy mercy think thou upon me, O Lord, for thy goodness. *Psalm* xxv. 6.

18. Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not, when my strength faileth me. *Psalm* lxxi. 8.

19. Take thy plague away from me: I am even consumed by the means of thy heavy hand.

20. When thou with rebukes doth chasten man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away, like as it were a moth fretting a garment: every man therefore is but vanity.

21. Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ears consider my calling: hold not thy peace at my tears.

22. For I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.

23. O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength, before I go hence, and be no more seen. *Psalm* xxxix. 11, 13.

A Prayer for a Sick Seaman.

O MOST great and glorious Lord, the "salvation of all that dwell on the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea;" under whose powerful protection we are alike secure in every place; and without whose providence over us, we can no where be in safety; look down, we beseech

thee, upon us, thy unworthy servants, who are called to "behold thy wonders in the deep," and to perform our several duties in the great waters.

"Thou art our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble;" and therefore we fly unto thee for succour in all our necessities. Extend thy accustomed goodness to our distressed brother, whom thou hast been pleased to visit with the rod of affliction.

"The waves of death encompass him about, and the sorrows of hell take hold upon him."

O leave him not to himself, nor let him be given over "to a spirit of slumber" and darkness; but "open his eyes, that he may see the wondrous things of thy law," and the necessity of a speedy and sincere repentance; so that from the sickness of his body, he may derive health and salvation to his soul, which is the great end of all thy righteous judgments, and of all our afflictions.

Let him seriously consider and reflect within himself, from this visitation, "what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God;" and let him hence learn, if it shall please thee to raise him up again, to preserve a more awful sense of thy divine majesty upon his spirit, "and to live more soberly, righteously, and piously in this present world."

We know, O Lord, that "many are the enemies of peace," and that "the whole world lieth in wickedness:" but let him not "follow a multitude, to do evil," nor "give his consent to the enticement of sinners;" but, being perfectly "redeemed from all vain conversation, and renewed in the spirit of his mind," let him "walk before thee with a perfect heart," and spend the residue of his days in thy faith and fear.

Or if thou hast determined otherwise concerning him, be pleased to give him sufficient grace, and strength, and

time, to "make his calling and election sure, before he go hence, and be no more seen;" revive his drooping spirits, fortify his heart, and as he decays in the outer, strengthen him in the inner man, by setting before him the hopes of a blessed immortality, "as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Soldier or Seaman.

O MOST mighty Lord, the fountain of health and life, strength and courage, the aid and support of all that fly unto thee for succour, with whom is no respect of persons, but every one that feareth thee (whether he be rich or poor, learned or unlearned) is accepted by thee; we beseech thee mercifully to look down upon our brother, who is now fallen under the rod of thy displeasure.

We know, O Lord, that all thy judgments are principally intended for our good in the end, by the reformation of our lives and manners; and therefore we most humbly beseech thee to let thy present judgment have that good effect upon our brother, that he may lead the rest of his life as a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, and not continue to harden his heart against all the powerful and repeated instances of thy mercies and judgments towards him.

If thou hast designed this sickness shall terminate in his death, O be pleased to fit and prepare him for it; or if otherwise in mercy thou hast determined to spare him, O let him not return to any of his former sinful courses, but let him always keep in mind the promise which he made to thee in baptism, of renouncing the world, the flesh, and the Devil; and which we hope, he now again heartily renews in this his day of visitation.

We know, O Lord, that many temptations will unavoidably assault him in the state of life wherein he is engaged, and therefore we most humbly beseech thee to give him

such a portion of thy blessed Spirit, as may enable him to fight with as much resolution and courage against his spiritual enemies, as the nature of his post obliges him to do, upon just occasions, against his temporal; ever remembering, that the greatest of conquests is that which is made upon ourselves; and that no victory is so truly honourable, as that which is obtained over our vicious inclinations.

Wherefore give him grace, we beseech thee, O Lord, "to abhor that which is evil, and to cleave to that which is good." Let him religiously avoid all blasphemy and profaneness, all drunkenness, riot, and lasciviousness; and let him carefully follow the rule our Saviour hath set him, "of doing violence to no man, accusing no man falsely, and being content with his own wages;" so that, having "put on the whole armour of God, he may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil;" and whenever thou shalt be pleased to put an end to his warfare (either now or hereafter), he may cheerfully resign his soul into thy hands, in these comfortable words of the apostle: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give unto all those that love and fear him, and put their trust in his mercy." *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by a Person afflicted with a Distemper of long Continuance.

(By Dr. Stonehouse.)

O Lord God Almighty, I am wonderfully made, and all my powers of body and mind were produced and are supported by thee. "Thou killest, and makest alive: thou woundest, and makest whole."

I own and reverence thine hand in my present affliction. I acknowledge that thou art righteous in all that befals

me; for I have sinned; and thou chastenest me less than my iniquities deserve. In punishment thou showest mercy, continuest to me many comforts, prolongest my opportunities of reflection and amendment, and givest hope of that pardon which I so much want, and at this time earnestly entreat.

I desire, in this poor condition of my health, to search and try my ways, and turn unto thee, O Lord, by deep humility, sincere repentance, and faith in the great Redeemer: and may the fruit of this and every affliction be to take away sin, and make my heart better.

O God, if it be thy merciful will, direct me to, and prosper, some means for the removal of my disorder, that I may yet be capable of glorifying thee in my station, and, by farther endeavours for thy service upon earth, be fitter for immortality.

Support me, gracious Lord, that my soul may not be quite cast down, and too much disquieted within me. Assist me to cherish penitent, believing, serious thoughts and affections. Grant me such resignation to thy will, such patience and meekness towards men, as my Divine Master requireth, and as he himself manifested while he was a sufferer on earth. Forgive all the harshness and sinfulness of my temper, and keep it from increasing upon me. May I learn, from what I now feel, to pity all who are sick, in pain, or otherwise afflicted, and do all in my power to assist and relieve them.

If by this affliction thou intendest to bring me down to the grave, prepare me, by thy grace, for my removal hence, and entrance on the unseen, eternal state: and may all the sufferings of the present life, work out for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

I am thankful, for any degree of ease and comfort which I have this day enjoyed. Grant me, this night, such re-

freshing rest, that I may be better able to discharge the duties, and bear the burthen of another day, if thou art pleased to indulge me with it. If my eyes are kept waking, may my meditations be comfortable and useful to me.

Pity my weakness, merciful and heavenly Father, and hear my imperfect petitions, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who was once a man of sorrow, and is still touched with the feelings of our infirmities; to whom, as our merciful High Priest, and powerful Intercessor, be glory forevermore. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used on the Death of a Friend.

(By Mr. Merrick.)

O ALMIGHTY God, who dost not willingly grieve the children of men, but in thy visitations rememberest mercy, teach me by thy grace to bear the loss of that dear person whom thou hast taken from me, with patience and resignation, and to make a right use of the affliction which thy fatherly hand hast laid upon me. Thou hast given, and thou hast taken away: blessed be thy holy name. Make me thankful, O Lord, for the comforts and blessings which I still enjoy; and sanctify to my soul all the sufferings, which in the course of this mortal life thou shalt appoint for me. Let the death of friends and relations help to keep me always mindful of my own mortality. And grant, that by thy grace I may here apply my heart to wisdom, and may hereafter by thy mercy be received into that everlasting kingdom, where all tears shall be wiped from all faces, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Hear me, O merciful Father, for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by a Person troubled in Mind.

ALMIGHTY God, who beholdest with compassion and mercy the weaknesses and frailties of us thy sinful creatures; look down on me, I beseech thee, and deliver me, if it be thy blessed will, from the distress of mind under which I labour. Strengthen my judgment, and inform my understanding, that I may rightly know my duty; and grant, that I may act on all occasions, and in every circumstance of life, in the manner most acceptable to thee. Pardon my secret sins and infirmities, and preserve me from all wilful neglects and offences. If thou seest it consistent with thy glory, and with the everlasting welfare of my soul, fill me with that fervency of affection towards thee, and with that measure of spiritual comfort and assurance, which may preserve my mind in a frame of cheerfulness and composure. But if trouble and bitterness of mind be more expedient for me, continue to me both this and all other afflictions, which thou seest most conducive to my future happiness, and grant, that I may bear them with patience and resignation. Let thine Holy Spirit direct and support me under every trial, and enable me so to walk in thy faith and fear, that I may at last be received into thy heavenly kingdom, through the merits and mediation of thy Son Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by an old Person.

O GRACIOUS Lord, my maker and my preserver, I give thee thanks for the long continuance which thou hast granted me in this world, in order that I may be the better prepared for another. Enable me by thy grace to make a right use of the time afforded me, and give me a true and

deep repentance of the sins which I have committed. Support me by thy help under the infirmities of age, keep me from covetousness, and fretfulness, and from all unreasonable fears and cares. Give me that degree of ease and health which thou seest most convenient for me; wean my affections and desires from the things of this life, and keep me continually prepared for death; through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a person condemned to die.

(From Dr. Inet.)

O MOST just and holy Lord God, who bringest to light the hidden things of darkness, and by thy just and wise providence dost bring sin to shame and punishment; disappointing the hopes of wicked men; visiting their sins upon them in this present life, that thou mayest deter others from the evil of their ways, and save their souls in the day of judgment; O Lord, in mercy look down upon this thy servant, who now is before thee to confess thy justice in making *him* a sad example to others. *He* with sorrow and shame confesseth it would be just with thee, should death eternal be the wages of *his* sins, and everlasting sorrow the recompense of *his* iniquity. *He* has, we confess, O Lord, despised thy mercy, and abused thy goodness, and has therefore no reason to expect any other than to be made an everlasting sacrifice to thy justice. When thou hast by the ministry of thy word, and the interposition of thy providence, called *him* to repentance, *he* has slighted thine admonitions. O, how just therefore would it be now in thee to disregard *his* cry, in this day of trouble, when distress and anguish are come upon *him!* *He* confesses that *he* hath hardened *his* heart, notwithstanding all thy importunities to *him* to repent and live; that *he* has still gone on from

one wickedness to another, eagerly repeating the works of darkness, and even hating to be reformed; that *he* has notoriously broken *his* baptismal vows, and given encouragement to others to blaspheme our holy faith: and that on these accounts *he* has nothing to expect but that thou shouldest deal with *him* according to *his* sins, and reward *him* according to the multitude of *his* offences. But thou, O God, hast been pleased to declare that with thee is mercy and plenteous redemption: that thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that *he* should repent and live. Thou hast so loved the world, that thou gavest thy only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in *him* should not perish, but have everlasting life. O, let not *him*, whom we are now commending to thy mercy, for ever perish and be lost. Have compassion upon a miserable sinner, who owns *he* deserves eternally to die; and let *him* find mercy in *his* distress. Pardon, we earnestly entreat thee, *his* wilful and *his* heedless follies, *his* errours, and *his* crying and notorious sins; particularly that for which *he* is now to die. O Lord, thou God of mercy, who art abundant in goodness, have pity on the work of thine own hands. Bury *his* sins in *his* grave, and, however they may rise up in this world to disgrace *him*, let them never rise up in the next to condemn *him;* and whatever *he* suffers here, let *him* hereafter be in the number of those whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered. However men, in the execution of justice, and to deter others from being guilty of the like wickedness, may kill *his* body; let neither *his* body nor *his* soul be destroyed in hell, but be delivered from eternal condemnation, for the sake of Jesus Christ, who died to save sinners. *Amen.*

A Prayer of Preparation for Death.

O ALMIGHTY God, Maker and Judge of all men, have mercy upon me, thy weak and sinful creature; and if by thy most wise and righteous appointment the hour of death be approaching towards me, enable me to meet it with a mind fully prepared for it, and to pass through this great and awful trial in the manner most profitable for me. O, let me not leave any thing undone, which may help to make my departure safe and happy, or to qualify me for the highest degree of thy favour that I am capable of attaining. Pardon the sins which I have committed against thee, by thought, word, and deed, and all my neglects of duty. Pardon the sins which I have committed against my neighbour; and if others have wronged or offended me, incline my heart freely and fully to forgive them. Cleanse my soul from all its corruptions, and transform it into the likeness of thy Son Jesus Christ; that I may behold thy face in glory, and be made partaker of thy heavenly kingdom. And, O merciful Father, give me that supply of spiritual comfort, which thou seest needful for me in my present condition: And grant that, when my change comes, I may die with a quiet conscience, with a well-grounded assurance of thy favour, and a joyful hope of a blessed resurrection; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

THE MINISTRATION

OF

PUBLICK BAPTISM OF INFANTS,

TO BE USED IN CHURCHES.

THE people are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays and other holy-days, when the most number of persons come together; as well for that the congregation there present, may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's church; as also because in the Baptism of Infants, every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism. For which cause also it is expedient that baptism be ministered in the vulgar tongue. Nevertheless (if necessity so require) children may be baptized on any other day.

And note, That there shall be for every male child to be baptized, two godfathers and one godmother; and for every female, one godfather and two godmothers.

When there are children to be baptized, the parent shall give knowledge thereof over night, or in the morning before the beginning of morning prayer, to the Curate. And then the godfathers and godmothers, and the people with the children, must be ready at the font, either immediately after the last lesson at morning prayer, or else immediately after the last lesson at evening prayer, as the Curate by his discretion shall appoint. And the Priest coming to the font (which is then to be filled with pure water), and standing there, shall say,

Q. HATH this child been already baptized, or no?

If they answer *No*, then shall the Priest proceed as follows:

DEARLY beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, none can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regen-

erate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost; I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant *this child* that thing which by nature *he* cannot have, that *he* may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made a lively member of the same.

Then shall the Priest say:

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who of thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy holy baptism; and by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin; we beseech thee for thine infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon *this child*; wash *him* and sanctify *him* with the Holy Ghost, that *he*, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church: and being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally *he* may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with thee, world without end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead; we call upon thee for *this infant*, that *he* coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of *his* sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive *him*, O Lord, as thou hast promised

by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. So give now unto us that ask; let us that seek, find; open the gate unto us that knock; that *this infant* may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest stand up, and shall say,

Hear the words of the Gospel written by St. Mark, in the tenth chapter, at the thirteenth verse:

"They brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."

After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel:

Beloved, ye hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him; how he blamed those that would have kept them from him; how he exhorted all men to follow their innocency. Ye perceive how by his outward gesture and deed he declared his good will towards them; for he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive *this* present

infant; that he will embrace *him* with the arms of his mercy; that he will give unto *him* the blessing of eternal life, and make *him* partaker of his everlasting kingdom: wherefore we being thus persuaded of the good will of our heavenly Father towards *this infant*, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours, in bringing *this infant* to his holy baptism, let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say,

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy Holy Spirit to *this infant*, that he may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation; through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest speak unto the godfathers and godmothers in this wise:

DEARLY beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized; ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive *him*, to release *him* of *his* sins, to sanctify *him* with the Holy Ghost, to give *him* the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. Ye have heard also, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised also in his Gospel, to grant all these things that ye have prayed for; which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform. Wherefore after this promise made by Christ, *this infant* must also faithfully for *his* part, promise by you that are *his* sureties (until *he* come of age to take it upon *himself*), that *he* will renounce the Devil and all his works,

and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments.

I demand therefore,

Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

Ans. I renounce them all.

Minister.

Dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

And in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son, our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: and from thence shall come again, at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholick church; the communion of saints; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh; and everlasting life after death?

Ans. All this I steadfastly believe.

Minister.

Wilt thou then be baptized in this faith?

Ans. This is my desire.

Minister.

Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?

Ans. I will.

Then the Priest shall say,

O MERCIFUL God, grant that the old Adam in *this child* may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in *him*. *Amen*.

Grant that all carnal affections may die in *him*, and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in *him*. *Amen*.

Grant that *he* may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against the Devil, the world, and the flesh. *Amen*.

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry, may also be endued with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, through thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things, world without end. *Amen*.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood, and gave commandment to his disciples, that they should go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation; sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that *this child* now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.

Then the Priest shall take the Child into his hands, and shall say to the godfathers and godmothers,

Name this child.

And then naming it after them (if they shall certify him that the Child may well endure it), he shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily, saying,

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

But if they certify that the Child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the aforesaid words,

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, * and do sign *him* with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter *he* shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto *his* life's end. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say;

Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that *this child* is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto him, that *this child* may lead the rest of *his* life according to this beginning.

Then shall be said, all kneeling;

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And

* Here the Priest shall make a cross upon the child's forehead.

forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

WE yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate *this infant* with thy Holy Spirit; to receive *him* for thine own *child* by adoption, and to incorporate *him* into thy holy church. And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that *he*, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin; and that as *he* is made *partaker* of the death of thy Son, *he* may also be *partaker* of his resurrection; so that finally, with the residue of thy holy *church he* may be *an inheritor* of thine everlasting kingdom, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then, all standing up, the Priest shall say to the godfathers and godmothers this exhortation following:

FORASMUCH as *this child* hath promised by you *his* sureties to renounce the Devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve Him; ye must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that *this infant* be taught, so soon as *he* shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession, *he* hath here made by you. And that *he* may know these things the better, ye shall call upon *him* to hear sermons; and chiefly ye shall provide that *he* may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health; and that *this child* may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life; remembering always, that

baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that as he died, and rose again for us; so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

Then shall he add, and say;

Ye are to take care that *this child* be brought to the bishop, to be confirmed by him, so soon as *he* can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose.

It is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.

To take away all scruple concerning the use of the sign of the cross in baptism; the true explication thereof, and the just reasons for the retaining of it, may be seen in the XXXth Canon, first published in the year MDCIV.

THE MINISTRATION

OF

PRIVATE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN

IN HOUSES.

THE Curate of the parish shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the Baptism of their Children longer than the first or second Sunday next after their birth, or other holy-day falling between, unless upon a great and reasonable cause, to be approved by the Curate.

And also they shall warn them, that without like great cause and necessity, they procure not their Children to be baptized at home in their houses. But when need shall compel them so to do, then Baptism shall be administered on this fashion.

First, let the Minister of the parish (or, in his absence, any other lawful minister that can be procured), with them that are present, call upon God, and say the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the collects appointed to be said before in the form of Publick Baptism, as the time and present exigence will suffer. And then, the Child being named by some one that is present, the Minister shall pour water upon it, saying these words:

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then, all kneeling down, the Minister shall give thanks unto God, saying;

WE yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit; to receive *him* for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate *him* into thy holy church. And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that as *he* is now made partaker of the death of thy Son, so *he* may be also of his resurrection; and that finally, with the residue of thy saints,

he may inherit thine everlasting kingdom, through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

And let them not doubt but that the Child, so baptized, is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again. Yet, nevertheless, if the Child which is after this sort baptized, do afterwards live, it is expedient that it be brought into the church, to the intent that if the Minister of the same parish did himself baptize that Child, the congregation may be certified of the true form of baptism by him privately before used.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

COLLEGE LECTURES.

A few extracts from Mr. Paley's College Lectures, as preserved in the manuscripts of his pupils, will, it is hoped, afford the most satisfactory illustration of what has been stated in the *Memoirs*, of the general merit and importance of his labours in that department. They are selected from the latter part of his Lectures in Divinity, which has not been incorporated into any of his published works.

"The causes of infidelity, are,

I. Vice. Many infidels are at the same time men of loose and profligate lives, who begin at the wrong end, with the practice first, and then take up the principles. No argument in the world will ever persuade such men to part with their mistresses, their gaming, their revels, and their riots; to give up their diversions, habits, company, and conversation.

It may look like scurrility to charge men in the lump with immorality, because they do not believe as we do: but if we consider the manners of high life; how repugnant such manners are in general to the rules of the Gospel; what a revolution of conduct, what a stripping off of pleasure there must be, if we would put them under the

discipline of religion; what ways and means men are put to to get and keep their places and honours; and consequently what it would cost them to turn virtuous: and besides, what little leisure high life affords them for reflection; what few opportunities of information; what slender inducements and extreme aversion they must have to turn their thoughts upon a subject so melancholy and gloomy, as religion appears to them to be. I say, if we lay all these considerations together, we may see that it is no small number of us believers who come under this class.

Over and above the invincible bias, which vicious pleasures create against religion, it is also a certain, though unaccountable effect of them, to confuse and debilitate the understanding so as scarcely to leave a man a proper judge of any thing. Besides, a man who, living up to the rules of Christianity, finds the good effects of them upon himself, has a species of evidence which others want.

II. VANITY. Every man of science or distinction has a passion for lifting himself up above the vulgar. Nothing so flattering as to fancy oneself placed upon an eminence, and looking down upon the errours, and absurdities, and follies, and foibles, and tricks, and contrivances of the rest of mankind. Now to believe religion, is to believe and know no more than what the lowest person in the street knows in the main, and believes as well as we do. It is setting ourselves upon a level with carpenters, and tailors, and farmers, and mechanicks; with methodists, old women, and country parsons. Whereas to see into it, and through it, to get as it were behind the scenes, and see mankind playing one another off, is infinitely gratifying to the conceit and ambition of the human mind.

N. B. These two principles of VICE and VANITY may, and it is believed often do act imperceptibly, and are the

cause of INFIDELITY, when the INFIDEL himself is not aware of it.

III. RASHNESS. A large tribe of INFIDELS, are giddy, hasty young fellows, who, without information or inquiry about the matter, take up INFIDELITY all of a sudden, upon the first difficulty they meet with, upon a single objection or two which they happen to hear, (a ridiculous story perhaps of a forged miracle, without at all attending to the distinguishing circumstances), and when once they have avowed their disbelief of Christianity, it becomes a point of honour, as well as of obstinacy, to persist in it.

There are many such, whom if you were to examine, you would find extremely quick and ready with their objections; but with very little knowledge, either of the facts, or reasons, or answers on the other side of the question. A trifling objection, by being frequently urged, and advanced, and maintained, makes so great an impression upon the person himself, that though at first he did not believe it, yet afterwards he will not be able to dispossess himself of it.

IV. COMPANY AND CONVERSATION. Whatever arguments there may be on one side of a question, if it is a man's luck to mix with company and conversation, which is for the most part on the other, it is great odds but he falls in with them. Perhaps there is as little to be said for Jacobitism, as for any thing in the world: yet, if brought up in a Jacobite neighbourhood, or associating much with Jacobite acquaintances, ten men out of twenty will be drawn into their principles. Now, with regard to religion, in the high and gay scenes of life especially, a man may go through the world and never hear religion mentioned in company or conversation, but for the sake of a joke, or a jibe, or a sneer. It is rude and unfashionable to introduce religion, in

order to defend, or even to talk seriously about it: whereas nothing goes down better than strokes of raillery or ridicule against it; which is certainly unfair. Of the same cast is the cry against the clergy, for their hypocrisy, their desire to lead mankind in a string, their selfishness and sliness: charges which, just or unjust, have little to do with the truth of Christianity. Yet, when a man has taken them into his head, or heard them bandied about in almost every company he comes into; the religion itself, which comes to him through their hands, as it were, is instantly turned out of doors, as a juggle, a state trick, and a piece of priestcraft.

V. THE TENDENCY OF PARTICULAR STUDIES.

1st, When a man has been long accustomed to absolute certainty and demonstration, moral and probable proofs make less impression upon him.

2d, When a man has been long accustomed to rely upon one single argument for each proposition, he feels himself at a loss and unsatisfied for the want of such an argument, and is not so sensible of the force of united proofs.

VI. AUTHORITY. However INFIDELS may pretend to be free thinkers, there are no people under the sun greater slaves to the opinions of others. Not one half, nor a third of them, disbelieve Christianity for any reason they can assign to themselves, except that some acquaintance of theirs, of whom they have a good opinion, or some noted *fort-esprit*, Voltaire, Hume, or Lord Bolingbroke, for instance, disbelieved it. Now, although it be the weakest and wildest way in the world, to trust to other men's judgment, in a matter especially where so many better reasons and proofs may be had on the one side, and so many prejudices and obstacles subsist on the other; yet to argue with unbelievers in their own way, we can confront them with names and

authorities vastly superiour to any they can produce: to say nothing of the mass of the community, both high and low, rich and poor, learned and simple, which, for so many ages, and in so many countries, has believed Christianity. To say nothing of the many great divines in our own church, dissenting communions, and protestant churches abroad, who have spent their whole lives in the study of Christianity, and manifested as much acuteness and freedom in their researches, as is to be found in any science whatever. Not to mention these, what shall we say to such people as Newton, Locke, and Addison, laymen, under no temptation to dissemble, and who did not take their religion upon trust, but spent each of them many years in inquiring into it, and rose up from the inquiry fully and firmly persuaded of its truth.

VII. THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY is a cause which has contributed exceedingly to the progress of INFIDELITY.

1st, The many absurdities which several national churches have taken into their system, and which have no place or foundation in Scripture, and the universal propensity in mankind, to reject a whole system for the folly or falsehood of particular parts of it. This cause alone accounts for the many unbelievers to be found in popish countries. How should you get Voltaire or Rousseau, or any people of sense and spirit to believe Christianity, whilst they regard transubstantiation*, the infallibility of the pope, or the power of absolving sins as so many parts of it.

* "Transubstantiation," as the lecturer afterwards observed, "is built upon Christ's expression 'this is my body.' We might as well suppose Christ to be literally a door, or a rock, or a way, or a root, all of which he is expressly called; or suppose the cup to be the *New Testament*, or understand a person literally who says, 'I give you my hand

2d, Several lucrative tenets in some established systems, which induce the suspicion of craft and design in the whole, such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, the efficacy of offerings and donations to the church.

3d, The placing Christianity on wrong foundations. Thus, the Quakers and Methodists refer you for the proof of Christianity to the notions and witnessings of the spirit in your own breast. Now, a man who hears this, and can feel no such motions, has nothing left for it but to turn INFIDEL."

"THE two leading tenets of METHODISM, and the most serious points of difference betwixt us and the METHODISTS, are

1st, That *faith* alone saves us; and

2d, The perceptible operations of the holy Spirit.

The first is founded on those passages of St. Paul, especially in the third chapter of his *Epistle to the Romans*, where he declares expressly, that by the deeds of the law, no flesh shall be *justified*, v. 20.; and that a man is *justified* by *faith* without the deeds of the law, v. 28.

To which we answer,

That the *justification* here spoken of does not mean final salvation, but only what passed at their conversion, i. e. their deliverance from the desperate condition which they were in before: when, instead of being destroyed for their sins, as the old world was, people, upon their conversion to

or heart,' or showing a picture, says, 'this is my father,' &c. The words plainly signify, this represents my body, i. e. is a memorial or emblem of it, agreeable to the Jews' mode of metaphor. It is founded also on false philosophy, as it supposes in bodies a substance besides the qualities underneath them, independent of them, and which may be changed, though the bodies continue the same."

Christianity, had all their former sins forgiven, were put upon easy and gracious terms for the future, and furnished with new means, lights, and assistances for the government of their conduct. This was such a favour, such a change for the better in their spiritual condition, that they might properly be said to be delivered or *justified*, in the same sense that Rahab was *justified* when she was saved from the destruction of Jericho; that Noah was *justified* when he was saved from the flood; David when delivered from his enemies; Phinehas when the priesthood was given to him; or Abraham when his idolatry was pardoned and he was taken into the covenant; and that notwithstanding their being thus *justified* at their conversion, if they relapsed into, or continued in sin, (which St. Paul supposes possible by warning them against it,) they would finally perish.

In further proof of this interpretation, we add,

1st, That Christ himself studiously guarded against their falling into this errour, by insisting upon *works* accompanying their belief, and took, as it were, pains to have them understand, that hearing, believing, or calling upon him, without keeping his commandments, would be ineffectual. See Matt. vii. 21—29. John v. 29.

2d, That the *Apostles* in all their letters and speeches, (and none of them more than St. Paul) exhort to virtue and sanctity of life.

3d, That St. James has expressly combated the notion that *faith* without *works* was sufficient. James ii. 14—26.

There is a seeming contradiction between St. James and St. Paul, in their both selecting the same example to prove contrary propositions; which is thus easily reconciled, that St. James speaks of *final justification*, St. Paul of *conversion to Christianity*.

4th, That above all, St. Paul himself tells the very people whom he had before pronounced *justified* by *faith*, that if they lived after the flesh, they should die. Rom. viii. 13.

5th, That all these strong expressions which have created the doubt, and this great stress, which is laid upon *faith*, would probably never have been heard of, had it not been for the dispute which arose with the Jews, and the engrossing temper of that people, who would not suffer the Gentiles (unless they would first become Jews,) to be admitted to an equality, or to be set upon a footing with themselves. To beat down this it became necessary to contend that their being admitted to a share of favour at all, or to stand upon any particular footing as God's people, was not on account of any prior merit, which the Jews would have laid hold of as peculiar to themselves, but simply and singly by *faith*, i. e. by believing and receiving the Christian religion.

Thus much, however, ought to be granted to the METHODISTS, that after all it is a dispute perhaps about words rather than things; certainly about abstract doctrine and not any practical question: for they do not pretend that a man who continues all his life a rogue or a cheat, or a whoremaster, or a drunkard, or in any habitual vice, will go to Heaven at last by his *faith*. They either say it is not a true *faith*, i. e. it is only in the mouth, not in the heart; that he does not really believe; or have constantly some other way of evading the conclusion.*

As to the perceptible operation of the spirit, we agree with them in believing that the spirit of God may, and does act upon men's minds, but we deny what they pretend, that these operations can be distinguished from the natural

* See Halifax's three Sermons on Justification.

course of our own thoughts. A METHODIST will have it, that he can perceive the spirit moving within him, know every impulse, be sure that such and such thoughts are not the workings of his own mind, but come from God. He can tell, for instance, the time and place, the very hour and minute when he was illuminated, converted, born again, regenerated, elected, born of God; which is always with him instantaneous. He is assured by the spirit of his final salvation,—knows when God accepts him or hears his prayers,—when he has communion or communication with God,—when he struggles or wrestles with him.

We on the contrary say, that we perceive no such thing; that without some sure sign or token, either external, as a miracle, or internal, as that which accompanied inspiration, and which we allow that the prophets and apostles had, we neither can nor ought to pronounce with confidence, what is the acting of the holy spirit, and what is not.—That, at any rate, people's telling us their feelings, their impulses and communications, without giving us any proof besides their bare words, can be no ground of assurance to us, whatever evidence they may have of it themselves.

That Christ did not call upon mankind to believe him, because he felt, or thought himself inspired, or because he was conscious of communications or intercourse with God, but for his works' sake, on account of the outward, visible, and publick proofs which he gave, the signs and wonders which he wrought before their eyes.

That it is enough, and all that we have to do, to pray for the assistance of God's holy spirit, and to encourage and avail ourselves of good resolutions and desires, when we feel them; that we be extremely afraid and cautious of counteracting or putting them off, lest they should proceed, as they certainly may do, and frequently in fact do,

from God's spirit, and so we be found fighting against God, and quenching, and stifling and grieving his holy spirit."

"For the Study of the Gospels, read by way of introduction, *Collyers's Sacred Interpreter*, especially the former part of the second volume; *Harwood's Introduction*, volume i.; the *Dissertations* prefixed to *Macknight's Harmony; Godwin's Jewish Antiquities;* or rather *Jennings' Lectures* upon that work; and *Law's Reflections on the Life and Character of Christ.*

By way of commentators, furnish yourselves with *Hammond by Le Clerc; Lightfoot's Works* upon the respective *Gospels*, especially his *Horæ Hebraicæ; Bowyer's Conjectures on the New Testament; Jebb's*, or any other *Harmony; Wetstein's* edition of the *Greek Testament*, 12mo, 1711; *Parkhurst's Lexicon*, and *Clarke's Paraphrase.*

Your method of studying the Gospels, for the first time of going over them, may be this. Read a passage of *St. Matthew*, for instance, in the English, with as little attention as may be to the division of chapter and verse, and break it with your pen, as you go on, into sections or paragraphs. Mark the words, expressions, connexions, and reasonings that appear to have any difficulty, and, at the same time, note down the best sense or explanation you can give them, however dubious and unsatisfactory. When you have thus gone through the paragraph, set about the clearing up of these difficulties, one by one, in their order; and then, in the first place, have recourse to the original Greek, with the assistance, if you want it, of *Parkhurst's Lexicon*, which will frequently clear up the doubt, without more to do. If not, consult the parallel passages in the other *Gospels*, which your *Harmony* points out; and if there be none, or if they afford no light, turn to the texts which

your *Wetstein's Greek Testament* refers to. If you are still at a loss for the interpretation, apply to *Lightfoot* and *Le Clerc's Notes*, *Bowyer's Conjectures*, and last of all to *Clarke's Paraphrase*. In this train of inquiry, when you are once satisfied, stop, and by these means furnish an interleaved *Greek Testament* with notes.

In the *Acts of the Apostles*, besides the above mentioned books, except the *Harmony*, and *Clarke's Paraphrase*, read as you go along, *Benson's History of the Christian Religion*.

When you undertake the *Epistles*, pursue the same method with them, with this single addition, of writing down the argument or subject of each section. Read them in the following order, and let your commentators be upon,

James,.....*Benson*.
1st and 2d Timothy,..... *Do*.
Titus,..... *Do*.
Ephesians,.....*Locke*.
Colossians,.....*Pierce*.
Philippians,..... *Do*.
Galatians,.....*Locke*.
Romans,.....*Taylor*.
1st and 2d Corinthians,.....*Locke*.
1st and 2d Thessalonians,.....*Benson*.
Hebrews,.....*Pierce*.
——— three last chapters,.....*Hallet*.
The other Epistles,.....*Benson*.

If you should afterwards desire a more exact and critical knowledge of the *Greek Testament*, or of any particular passage, you may best attain it by comparing the senses in which a dubious word or expression occurs, in different places of *Scripture*; for which purpose *Schimidius's Concordance* for the *New Testament*, and *Trommius's* for the

Septuagint, are complete. The folio edition of *Wetstein* supplies quotations from profane authors; whilst the English *Concordance* of *Cruden* is wanted for a thousand purposes. In examining any point of controversy, (which, by the bye, may be deferred till you have made a considerable progress in the above prescribed course,) before you take up a book on either side of the question, read the *New Testament* from beginning to end, with a view solely to that one subject, and collect all the texts as you go along, which have any, even the most distant relation to it. Afterwards reduce the number of these texts, by striking out such as are found, upon a second examination, to have no real connexion with the subject, and then carefully pursue the remainder, with the notes, commentaries, and other assistances, which you may now be supposed to be possessed of. Thus you will be enabled, either to form a judgment of the question from what you have before you, or at least to read the books that are written upon it, with edification and pleasure.

As to preaching, if your situation requires a Sermon every Sunday, make one and steal five; for which latter purpose I recommend *Conant's Sermons*, which are easily abridged, by selecting the most important out of the many heads into which he has divided them; the few of *Scougal's*, bound up with his *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and *Ostervald on the Causes of the Corruptions of Christians*, which you may easily break into Discourses for the pulpit. Accustom yourself to insert additions and alterations of your own; and make it a point of conscience to reject what you disbelieve or disapprove.

In order to compose Sermons, furnish yourselves, in the first place, with *Limborch de Religione Christianâ*; get also *Enfield's Preacher's Directory*, which I would wish you

to interleave, and make, from time to time, additions to it of your own; and, unless you are possessed of copious notes of our *Lectures*, have by you *Rutherford's Institutes of Natural Law*.

The first rule I give you in the composition of Sermons, is to confine your Discourse to one single specifick subject, a vice, for instance, which actually prevails; an excuse or evasion, which is in fact made use of; or a duty which you observe to be unnoticed, mistaken, or transgressed. When your own thoughts or observations fail to furnish you with such subjects, then, but not till then, have recourse to *Enfield's Directory*, or the scheme of that work, p. 1—8, or to the *index* at the beginning of *Limborch*.

In treating any such subject first or early in your Discourse, state distinctly and clearly, the point or proposition which you mean to discuss, and then describe, with all the particularity and minuteness which decency admits of, what you observe or suppose to be the thoughts and conduct of mankind, especially those you have to do with, in respect of it. If you should hit upon a train of thought which has actually passed in the minds of your audience, or a description which exactly reaches their case, you will probably be of service.—In the next place, set forth in order, and with the good old fashion of firstly and secondly, what may be said upon the subject from the law and light of nature. This you must draw principally out of your own head, but you will frequently receive the most excellent hints from *Limborch*, and may often find a full and just account of the matter in *Rutherford*. In the last place, produce and explain the several texts and declarations of *Scripture*, always reserving the strongest for the last. *Enfield* will generally supply the texts, but *Limborch* always, together with some useful observations upon them; and when your *Greek Testament* is stocked with notes, the interpretation is at hand.

When these sort of subjects are exhausted, another species of preaching is, to give abstracts of select portions of sacred history, in a familiar narrative, interspersed with a few reflections. For a collection of such subjects, see *Enfield*, page 6; and for suitable observations upon them, the first volume of *Collyer*.

You may likewise have recourse to paraphrases on particular portions of the *New Testament*, a parable for instance; a single head of Christ's Sermon on the Mount; the history of some noted miracle; a speech in the *Acts*; or a detached section of an *Epistle*; only take care not to improve too much on the text: i. e. do not, in order to make your Discourse, as you may think, more useful, put meanings into it, or make an application of it which were never intended. In this respect, *Doddridge's Family Expositor* is very valuable.

The *Attributes* of God, as discovered in the works of the Creation, and described in Scripture, such as his goodness, compassion, placability, omnipresence, particular providence, &c. are excellent and easy topicks. The description of these *Attributes* in *Search's Light of Nature pursued*, are inimitable, and the texts relating to them are well collected in *Enfield*.

The *Evidences of Christianity*, particularly those which arise from the *Morality of the Gospel*, the seeming, though minute differences, but real and substantial agreement of the several historians, the candour and simplicity of their narrative, the inimitable zeal and affection of *St. Paul's Letters*, particularly the earnestness, and therefore the authenticity of them, the sufferings, disinterestedness, and low stations of the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity, the success of their ministry, and the good effects it produced, the originality of Christ's character and pretensions, the value and importance of his mission, the explicit proph-

ecies fulfilled in him, his own predictions of the persecution of his followers, and the destruction of Jerusalem, may all be modelled into useful and popular sermons.

For your manner of writing sermons, take the following directions:

Let your text relate to your subject without doing violence to the words, and choose one, if you can, which requires and admits of an explanation; in which case, as a general rule, and not whether it wants it or not, begin your Sermon with an explanation of the text, and if you can make use of the context or connexion of the words, repeat entire the whole passage to which they belong, otherwise you will not be understood.

When you produce a text of Scripture to prove any thing, repeat the chapter and verse; if it be only by way of accommodation, i. e. to express your own meaning in Scripture words.

The best way of writing upon any subject, is to put down or settle it, at least in your own mind first, and consult books upon it afterwards. In every discourse let your first care be truth and information, your last ornament and exactness of language. The good old way of expounding the Scriptures in the place of a sermon, or on that part of the day when you have no sermon, especially if you can persuade your congregation to follow you with their *Bibles* in their hands, is the very best service you can do them, because it will be a means of making them read the Scriptures to themselves, and in their families.

If you should have Dissenters in your parish, make it your business by your behaviour, conversation, and preaching, to possess both them and your own congregation, with a sense of the importance of those points which divide you; and of the convenience, and consequently the duty, of giving up such points to one another, for the sake of one com-

mon publick worship. Above all things abstain from ridicule or reflections upon their persons and teachers; from reproaching them with the conduct of their ancestors or predecessors of the same sect; from idle reports of their absurdities or immoralities; from groundless suspicions of their insincerity; and particularly from charging them with opinions which they disown, or consequences they do not deduce.

When you are called upon to visit the sick, collect as many of the family or others, into the sick person's room as is convenient, and make what you say a vehicle of admonition to them.

Distribute books in your parish, particularly the Tracts of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, or such as you may select from their Catalogue. It is one of the best modes of instruction, and is in every one's power."

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER AND EXAMPLE OF CHRIST, AND ON THE MORALITY OF THE GOSPEL.

In the first place, Christ was absolutely innocent: we do not find a single vice to which he was addicted, either from the accounts of his own followers, or as charged upon him by his enemies: we hear nothing like what is told of *Mahomet*, of his wives and concubines; nothing of his falling, like *Socrates* and *Plato*, into the fashionable vices of his country.—In the next place, his whole life, that part of it at least, which we are acquainted with, was employed in doing good, in substantial acts of kindness and compassion to all those who fell in his way, i. e. in solid virtue. In his youth he set an example of subjection and obedience to his parents. *Luke* ii. 51.—By his presence of mind and judicious replies, whenever ensnaring questions were pro-

posed to him, he testified the coolness and soundness of his understanding. *Matt.* xxi. 24. xxii. 16. xxx. 37.—By avoiding all danger, when he could do it consistently with his duty, and resolutely encountering the greatest, *when his hour was come*, i. e. when his own office or the destination of providence made it necessary, he proved the sedateness of his courage in opposition to that which is produced by passion and enthusiasm. *Matt.* xii. 14, 15. xiv. 12, 13. *John* iv. 1—3. compared with *Matt.* xv. 17—19.—By his patience and forbearance, when he had the means of revenge in his power, he taught us the proper treatment of our enemies.—*Luke* ix. 54. *Matt.* xxvi. 53. compared with *Luke* xxiii. 34. By his withdrawing himself from the populace, and repelling their attempts to make him a king, he showed us the sense we ought to entertain of popular clamour and applause. *John* vi. 15.—By his laying hold of every opportunity to instruct his followers, and taking so much pains to inculcate his precepts, he left us a pattern of industry and zeal in our profession.—By the liberty he took with the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, the lawyers and scribes, in exposing their hypocrisy, their errours and corruptions, he taught us fortitude in the discharge of our duty. *Matt.* xxiii. *Luke* xi. 37—54.—He spared neither the faults of his friends, nor the vices of his enemies.—By his indifference and unconcern about his own accommodation and appearance, the interest of his family and fortune, he condemned all worldly mindedness. *Matt.* viii. 20. xii. 46—50. *John* iv. 34.—He was perfectly sober and rational in his devotions, as witness the Lord's prayer compared with any of the compositions of modern enthusiasts. His admirable discourses before his death, are specimens of inimitable tenderness and affection towards his followers. *John* xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. His quiet submission to death, though even the prospect of it was

terrible to him, exhibits a complete pattern of resignation and acquiescence in the Divine will. *John* xxii. 41—44.—And to crown all, his example was *practicable*, and suited to the condition of human life.—He did not, like *Rousseau*, call upon mankind to return back into a state of nature, or calculate his precepts for such a state.—He did not, with the monk and the hermit, run into caves and cloisters, or suppose men could make themselves more acceptable to God, by keeping out of the way of one another. He did not, with some of the most eminent of the *Stoicks*, command his followers to throw their wealth into the sea, nor with the eastern *Faquirs* to inflict upon themselves any tedious gloomy penances, or extravagant mortifications.—He did not, what is the sure companion of enthusiasm, affect singularity in his behaviour; he dressed, he ate, he conversed like other people; he accepted their invitations, he was a guest at their feasts, frequented their synagogues, and went up to *Jerusalem* at their great festival. He supposed his disciples to follow some professions, to be soldiers, tax-gatherers, fishermen; to marry wives, pay taxes, submit to magistrates;—to carry on their usual business; and when they could be spared from his service, to return again to their respective callings*.—Upon the whole, if the account which is given of *Christ*, in Scripture, be a just one;—if there was really such a person, how could he be an impostor!—If there was no such person, how came the illiterate Evangelists to hit off such a character, and that without any visible design of drawing any character at all!

* The like did his forerunner *John* the baptist. When the publicans and soldiers, people of the two most obnoxious professions in that age and country, asked *John* what they were to do, *John* does not require them to quit their occupations, but to beware of the vices, and perform the duties of them; which also is to be understood as the baptist's own explanation of that μετανοια εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων to which he called his countrymen.

THE MORALITY OF THE GOSPEL.

Not beyond what might be discovered by reason; nor possibly could be; because all morality being founded in relations and consequences, which we are acquainted with, and experience, must depend upon reasons intelligible to our apprehensions, and discoverable by us. Nor perhaps, except in a few instances, was it beyond what might have been collected from the scattered precepts of different philosophers. Indeed, to have put together all the wise and good precepts of all the different philosophers, to have separated and laid aside all the errour, immorality and superstition that was mixed with them, would have proved a very difficult work. But that a single person, without any assistance from those philosophers, or any human learning whatsoever, in direct opposition also to the established practices and maxims of his own country, should form a system so unblameable on the one hand, and so perfect on the other, is extraordinary, beyond example and belief; and yet must be believed by those who hold *Christ* to have been either an *impostor* or *enthusiast*.

The following are some principal articles of his system.

I. *The forgiveness of injuries and enemies;*—absolutely original.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." *Matt.* v. 43—45.

"If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you." *Matt.* vi. 14, 15.

"Then came *Peter* unto him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? *Jesus* saith unto him, I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven: therefore (*i. e. in this respect*) is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king which would take account of his servants; and when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents; but for as much as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children and all that he had, and payment to be made: the servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow servants, which owed him a hundred pence; and he laid hands on him and took him by the throat, saying, pay me what thou owest; and his fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all; and he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. So when his fellow-servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done. Then his lord, after he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me, shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him; so like-

wise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses." *Matt.* xviii. 21—35.

"And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any; that your Father also, which is in heaven, may forgive you your trespasses." *Mark* xi. 25.

"Love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest, for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil." *Luke* vi. 35.

"And when they were come to the place, which is called *Calvary*, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left: then said *Jesus*, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." *Luke* xxiii. 34.

II. *The universality of benevolence without distinction of country or religion.*

"They went, and entered into a village of the *Samaritans* to make ready for him, and they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to *Jerusalem*; and when his disciples *James* and *John* saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as *Elias* did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." *Luke* ix. 52, 53.

"*The Jewish lawyer*, willing to justify himself, said unto *Jesus*, and who is my neighbour? And *Jesus* answering said, a certain man went down from *Jerusalem* to *Jericho*, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead; and by chance there came down a certain *priest* that way, and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side; and likewise a *Levite*, when he was at the place, came and

looked on him, and passed by on the other side; but a certain *Samaritan*, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him; and on the morrow, when he departed, he took out twopence, and gave them to the host, and said, take care of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee: which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him that fell among the thieves? and he said, he that showed mercy on him. Then said *Jesus* unto him, go and do thou likewise." *Luke* x. 29—37.

III. *The inferiority and subordination of the ceremonial to the moral Law.*

"Leave thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." *Matt.* v. 24.

"If ye had known what this meaneth, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' ye would not have condemned the guiltless." *Matt.* xii. 7.

"And behold there was a man which had his hand withered; and they asked him, saying, is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days? that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, what man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it and lift it out? how much then is a man better than a sheep? wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days." *Matt.* xii. 10—13. See also *Mark* iii. 1—5.

"Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man—those things, which proceed out of the mouth, come

forth from the heart, and they defile the man; for out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witnesses, blasphemies, these are the things which defile a man; but to eat with unwashen hands, defileth not a man." *Matt.* xv. 11, 18—20.

"Woe unto you *scribes* and *Pharisees*, hypocrites, for ye pay tythe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith, (*fidelity:*) these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the others undone."

"Ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind *Pharisee*, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also." *Matt.* xxiii. 23—25.

"And the scribe said unto him, well, master, thou hast said the truth, for there is one God, and there is none other but he, and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices: and when *Jesus* saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, thou art not far from the kingdom of God." *Mark* xii. 32—34.

IV. *The condemning of spiritual pride and ostentation*

"Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye shall have no reward of your Father which is in heaven: therefore when thou dost thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do, in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men; verily I say unto you they have their reward.

But when thou dost alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward

thee openly. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray, standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men; verily I say unto you they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast; verily I say unto you, they have their reward: but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." *Matt.* vi. 1—6. 16—18.

"All their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi." *Matt.* xxiii. 5—7.

"And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others. Two men went up into the temple to pray, the one a *Pharisee* and the other a publican; the *Pharisee* stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican; I fast twice in the week, I give tythes of all that I possess. And the publican standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you this man went down to his house, justified rather than the other; for every one that exalteth himself, shall be

abased; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted." *Luke* xviii. 9—14.

V. *Restraining the licentiousness of divorces.*

"The *Pharisees* came unto him tempting him, and saying unto him, is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said unto them, have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, for this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh? wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, why did *Moses* then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, *Moses* because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so; and I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery." *Matt.* xix. 3—9.

N. B. These four last articles were in direct opposition to the established practice and opinions of our Saviour's own country.

VI. *The separation of civil authority from religious matters.*

"Then saith he unto them, render unto *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsar's*, and unto God the things that are God's." *Matt.* xxii. 21.

"And one of the company said unto him, master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said unto him, man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" *Luke* xii. 13, 14.

He said unto the woman (*caught in adultery*) "Where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee?

(i. e. *judicially; for the woman's answer was not true in any other sense.*) She said, no man, Lord: and *Jesus* said unto her, neither do I condemn thee," (i. e. *in the same sense, or as a judge.*) *John* viii. 10, 11.

VII. *Purity and simplicity of Divine worship.*

"When ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before you ask him: after this manner therefore pray ye, *Our Father*," &c. *Matt.* vi. 7—9.

"The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." *John* iv. 23, 24.

VIII. *Estimating of actions by the intent and not the effect.*

"And *Jesus* sat over against the treasury (i. e. *for pious uses*,) and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury; and many that were rich cast in much; and there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing; and he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasury, for all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living." *Mark* xii. 41—44.

IX. *Extending of morality to the regulation of the thoughts.*

"I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." *Matt.* v. 28.

"Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, &c.—these are the things which defile a man." *Matt.* xv. 19, 20.

X. *The demand of duty from mankind proportioned to their ability and opportunities.*

"That servant which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and (i. e. as) to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." *Luke* xii. 47, 48.

XI. *The invitations to repentance.*

"Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him; and the *Pharisees* and *scribes* murmured, saying, this man receiveth sinners and eateth with them; and he spake this parable unto them, saying, what man of you having an hundred sheep, if he loose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost till he find it? and when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders rejoicing; and when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance." *Luke* xv. 1—7.

"And he said, (i. e. *upon the same occasion*,) A certain man had two sons; and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me; and he divided unto them his living: and not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living; and when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to

be in want; and he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine, and he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him; and when he came unto himself, he said, how many hired servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger? I will arise and go to my father, and I will say unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose and came to his father, but when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him; and the son said unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: but the father said to his servants, bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet; and bring here the fatted calf and kill it; and let us eat and be merry, for this my son was dead, and is alive again, he was lost, and is found." *Luke* xv. 11—24.

THE Gospel maxims of *loving our neighbour as ourselves*, and *doing as we would be done by*, are much superiour rules of life to the τὸ πρεπον of the Greek, or the *honestum* of the Latin moralists, in forming ideas of which, people put in or left out just what they pleased; and better than the *utile*, or *general expediency* of the modern, which few can estimate.—As motives likewise, or principles of action, they are much safer than either *the love of our country*, which has oftentimes been destructive to the rest of the world; or *friendship*, the almost constant source of partiality and injustice.

His manner also of teaching, was infinitely more affecting than theirs; as may be known by comparing what we feel, when we rise up from reading the parables of the good *Samaritan*, of the *Pharisee* and publican, the servant who when he was forgiven by his master, would not forgive his fellow-servant, the prodigal son, the rich man who laid up stores, *Luke* xii. 16—21:—by comparing, I say, these with any thing excited in us, on reading *Tully's* Offices, *Aristotle's* Ethicks, or *Seneca's* Moral Dissertations.

No heathen moralist ever opposed himself, as Christ did, to the prevailing vices and corruptions of his own time and country. *Matt.* v. vi. vii. xxiii. *Luke* xi. 39—44.—The sports of the gladiators, unnatural lust, the licentiousness of divorce, the exposing of infants and slaves, procuring abortions, publick establishment of stews, all subsisted at *Rome*, and not one of them condemned or hinted at in *Tully's* Offices.—The most indecent revelling, drunkenness and lewdness, practised at the feasts of *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, and *Cybele*, and their greatest philosophers never remonstrated against it.

The heathen philosophers, though they have advanced fine sayings and sublime precepts in some points of morality, have grossly failed in others; such as the toleration or encouragement of revenge, slavery, unnatural lust, fornication, suicide, &c. e. g.

Plato expressly allowed of excessive drinking at the Festival of *Bacchus*.

Maximus Tyrius forbade to pray.

Socrates directs his hearers to consider the *Greeks* as brethren, but Barbarians as natural enemies.

Aristotle maintained that nature intended Barbarians to be slaves.

The *Stoicks* held that all crimes were equal.

Plato, *Cicero*, *Epictetus*, } All allow and advise men to continue the idolatry of their ancestors.

Aristotle, *Cicero*, } Both speak of the forgiveness of injuries as meanness and pusillanimity.

These are trifles to what follows.

*Aristotle** and *Plato*, both direct that *means should be used* to prevent weak children being brought up.

Cato commends a young man for frequenting the stews.

Cicero expressly speaks of fornication as a thing never found fault with.

Plato recommends a community of women: also advises that soldiers should not be restrained from sensual indulgence, even the most unnatural species of it.

Xenophon relates without any marks of reprobation, that unnatural lust was encouraged by the laws of several *Grecian* states.

Solon, their great lawgiver, forbade it only to slaves.

Diogenes inculcated, and openly practised the most brutal lust.

Zeno, the founder, and *Cato* the ornament of the *Stoick* philosophy, both killed themselves.

Lastly, the idea which the Christian Scriptures exhibit of the Deity, is in many respects different from the notion that was then entertained of him, but perfectly consonant to the best information we have of his nature and attributes from reason and the appearances of the universe.—The Scriptures describe him as one, wise, powerful, spiritual, and omnipresent; as placable and impartial, as abounding in affection towards his creatures, over-ruling by his providence the concerns of mankind in this world, and designing

* See Dr. Priestley's Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion, vol. ii. sect. 2, 3.

to compensate their sufferings, reward their merit, and punish their crimes in another. The foregoing instructions, both with regard to God and to morality, appear also without any traces of either learning or study. No set proofs, no formal arguments, no regular deduction or investigation, by which such conclusions could be derived:—the very different state likewise of learning and inquiry in *Judea* and other countries—and the vast superiority of this to any other system of religion: all these circumstances show that the authors of it must have had some sources of information which the others had not.

A SHORT MEMOIR OF RICHARD YATES, M. A. MASTER OF THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT APPLEBY IN WESTMORELAND.

RICHARD YATES, M.A. was born at a village near Bampton in Westmoreland, about the year 1700; for the date of his age went with that of the century. He received his early education at the free grammar school of Bampton; a school of some celebrity, where the learned Bishop Gibson had been educated about thirty years before. From thence, in 1715, he went to Queen's college, Oxford, so young, that it was not thought adviseable to admit him, at once, to the discipline and service of a scholarship, which somewhat retarded his proceeding to a bachelor's degree. During his years of residence in the university, he usually passed the long vacation under the hospitable roof of a literary friend and kinsman in London, to whose instruction he often confessed himself indebted for his skill in reading the English language; in which, a most powerful and harmonious voice, under the direction of a sound judgment,

enabled him to excel. At Oxford, he proceeded bachelor of arts in 1721, but did not take his master's degree till 1730.

In the interim, about 1722, he was appointed master of the free grammar school at Appleby, in his native county, on the nomination of Queen's college; in which society, from the implicit deference so long paid to its authority, the appointment, which is actually in trustees, was at that time partly supposed to rest. This school he taught, with great ability and reputation, for fifty-eight years, without adopting the usual custom, except in one or two instances, of receiving boarders into his house. The endowment, for several years of his mastership, was moderate; but in his latter years it was enlarged by the division of Sandford-moor, a common, to a share of which the school-lands were entitled. Boys belonging to the parish paid regularly, for their education, one shilling a quarter, on the quarter day: gentlemen's sons, who were not parishioners, one guinea entrance and two guineas a year; and children of the middle ranks only half that sum. Such was the low price of classical instruction, in the last century, under a teacher who was often styled, by way of eminence, the Busby of the north.

As Mr. Yates was but little acquainted with any branch of the mathematicks, his teaching was chiefly confined to the Greek and Latin languages, though he took more pains to make his scholars good readers of English, than is usual at grammar schools. Of his skill in the Latin language he was indeed justly proud, since few men in his profession were so intimately and practically conversant with the best writers of the Augustan age. In the explanation of their works he was eminently distinguished for a vein of plain good sense, and a judgment generally correct, unless perhaps as it was a little warped, sometimes in advancing con-

jectural emendations of the text, or sometimes in exploring the supposed latent meaning of his author. Horace was his favourite amongst the Roman classicks, and he had enriched his own copy of that elegant poet, in 24to, by inserting several critical suggestions: but in whose possession this curious book remains, is unknown.

The young men under his own immediate care generally consisted of two classes, of about twenty each. It was the constant evening exercise of the head class, to translate portions of the Spectator into Latin. In this he accompanied his scholars, and in time completed an entire translation of the second volume, and of several papers in the first, which has been considered as a model of good style for the purpose. Mr. Yates also drew up some *Rules of Syntax for the construction of the Latin language*, and *Rules of Prosody* for the use of his scholars, which were transmitted in manuscript from one generation to another. The great merit and usefulness of these compilations has been acknowledged by many adequate judges, and it was much lamented that he could never be prevailed upon to prepare them for the press; as besides the obvious advantage of being drawn up in the English language, they are more full and satisfactory than most books of the kind in common usage; though branching rather too much into detail for an elementary treatise*.

Mr. Yates never entered into holy orders, an opportunity not occurring of his obtaining an independent station in the church; though few men were better qualified to discharge the duties of a Christian minister. He was strongly attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England; and being very correct and regular in his own

* The Rules of Syntax were published at Newcastle, in 1795, in a thin 16mo volume, by the late Solomon Hodgson, an eminent printer and bookseller, who had been one of Mr. Yates's scholars.

attention to the duties of religion, he strenuously inculcated the necessity of such attention on the minds of all his scholars. He accordingly assembled them in school every Sunday, from seven o'clock till nine, from one till three, and occasionally after evening service till five. The *Greek Testament* and *Grotius de Veritate Christianæ Religionis*, or any interesting publication of some eminent divine, which had recently appeared in the English language, were the usual lessons of the head class; the second generally construed *Castalio's Dialogues;* and the younger boys were employed by the usher, in reading successively some portions of the *Old or New Testament* or of *the Whole Duty of Man.* Their daily labours in the school were begun and ended with prayers selected from the liturgy; and they all attended church not only on the Sabbath both morning and evening, but every Wednesday and Friday at morning prayers. Those who had attained a proper age were duly prepared for confirmation, and after that ceremony, instructed in the duty and obligation of receiving the Lord's supper. At the great festivals, particularly at Easter, Mr. Yates conducted them to the communion table, and there recommended his precepts by the authority of his example. His system of education, therefore, was well adapted to prepare candidates for holy orders; and he was probably the instructor of more clergymen, than any other teacher of his age: since he furnished nearly half the foundation of Queen's college, Oxford*, and completed the education of numbers, who without the advantages of a university, supplied the lower ranks of the establishment, as curates, or became the masters of provincial schools. For the direction of one of these, who, in 1760, was just entering upon the profession of a schoolmaster, he drew up an *Essay towards*

* The foundation of this college is confined to the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

a just method of instructing youth in a publick School. In this little tract, which, though never published, was handed about in manuscript among his pupils, he details the result of his own experience in many valuable exhortations and remarks.

Mr. Yates's great merit as a master, was a persevering and undivided application to the duties of his profession, and a close attention, not only to the intellectual, but to the moral proficiency of his scholars. By some he has been reckoned severe and cholerick, but that severity was at least much abated in his latter years. As he took a sort of parental interest in the future welfare of his pupils, both at their setting forth and progress in life, he must have received no common gratification when any of them obtained deserved celebrity in their several pursuits. Amongst his scholars pre-eminence is justly due to that able and upright lawyer Sir Joseph Yates, who whilst one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, so often distinguished himself by a firm and dignified resistance to the principles and practice of Lord Mansfield*, and whose opinion in the great cause concerning literary property, though opposed by a majority of the Judges, was confirmed by the final decision of the House of Lords. Mr. Relph, the Theocritus of Cumberland, was perhaps at school one of the contemporaries of the embryo Judge, for he too was amongst the earliest of Mr. Yates's pupils, and died, in the flower of life, the respectable pastor of his native village Sebergham, in 1743†. Dr. Langhorne, a writer of greater celebrity; Dr. Collinson, the present provost of Queen's college, Oxford; and Mr. Wilson, afterwards canon of Windsor, witnessed the maturity of Mr. Yates's talents and reputation. At the same period, Mr. Farrer, late vicar of Stanwix, near Car-

* See Junius's Letter to Lord Mansfield, 14th Nov. 1770.

† See Relph's Poems and Life, 2d edit. Carlisle, 1798.

lisle, was successively his pupil and assistant; and, for many years afterwards, successfully pursued the steps of his master, in the conduct of the grammar school at Witton-le-Wear, Durham.

Thus was Mr. Yates, for more than half a century, engaged in discharging the arduous duties of a schoolmaster, and influencing in no small degree, both the religious and classical instruction of the north of England. He was approaching towards his eightieth year, when Mr. Paley was instituted to the vicarage of Appleby, in 1777; but an intimacy was soon formed between these eminent men, whose attention had been equally devoted, though in a different sphere of utility, to the instruction of youth.

Mr. Yates was an alderman of Appleby, though, as he did not attach himself to the prevailing interest, he never attained the mayoralty: he was also a surrogate under Dr. Burn, chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle. Having acquired, by marriage, some property in the parish of Kirby-Stephen, he became, during his latter years, the principal in an action, brought by several of the land-owners of that parish, against the vicar, who claiming the payment of hay-tythe in kind, instead of the accustomed modus, refused to give them a release for their separate payments, when duly tendered. After a long trial, in which the rival talents of Mr. Lee and Mr. Wallace were strenuously exerted for their respective clients, Mr. Yates gained his own and the publick cause.

In the prime of life Mr. Yates must have been a very handsome man; for he was fair, tall, and upright, venerable and prepossessing in his personal appearance to the last. He commonly wore a clerical dress, and, at one time, a wig flowing rather loose behind, in the style of the preceding age. With the dress he combined the manners of the old school of politeness; and to the manners he united the

sentiments, and independent spirit of a gentleman. He was by habit an economist; but notwithstanding this, he has been known to do many acts and offices of generosity to his scholars and friends.

Mr. Yates died in December 1781, and was buried at Kirby-Stephen; but the following just and expressive Eulogy, written by Mr. Paley, was soon after inscribed on a monument, erected to his memory in Appleby church.

To preserve the Remembrance
of a long and valuable Life,
spent in the most useful of all Employments,
this Marble is inscribed with the Name
of
RICHARD YATES, M. A.
Fifty-eight Years Master of the Grammar School
in this town;
whom
an accurate Knowledge of Roman Literature,
a just and harmonious Elocution,
unwearied Diligence,
and
a serious Attention to the moral
and religious Improvement of his Pupils,
eminently qualified
for the important Station which he held.
He died, December the 31st, A. D. 1781,
and in the Eighty-first Year of his Age.

After Mr. Yates's death, Mr. Paley being consulted as to the propriety of publishing his Latin translations from the *Spectator*, dissuaded it, as a work not likely to excite interest or engage attention, except amongst a few of those for whose instruction it had been originally designed; in consequence of which the intention was given up.

By his wife, Miss Hartley of Kirby-Stephen, who survived him many years, Mr. Yates left two daughters, whom he lived to see married into respectable families. Jane, the elder, was married to Mr. Reed of Hurworth, in the county of Durham; and Ann, the younger, to Mr. Munkhouse of Winton, in Westmoreland. They both died in middle life. The only son of Mr. Reed, a sensible spirited youth, was a short time under Mr. Paley's care at Carlisle in 1794, but unfortunately lost his life in the Humber, in the following year, whilst under the tuition of Mr. Milner of Hull. The family of Mr. Munkhouse, therefore, are now the only surviving descendants of Mr. Yates.

G. W. M.

A SHORT MEMOIR OF EDMUND LAW, D. D. LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

Edmund Law, D. D. was born in the parish of Cartmel in Lancashire, in the year 1703. His father, who was a clergyman, held a small chapel in that neighbourhood; but the family had been situated at Askham, in the county of Westmoreland. He was educated for some time at Cartmel-school, afterwards at the free grammar school at Kendal; from which he went, very well instructed in the learning of grammar schools, to St. John's college in Cambridge.

Soon after taking his first degree, he was elected fellow of Christ's college in that university*. During his residence in which college, he became known to the publick by a translation of Archbishop King's *Essay upon the Origin of Evil*, with copious notes; in which many metaphysical subjects, curious and interesting in their own nature,

* He took the degree of B. A. 1723, M. A. 1727.

are treated with great ingenuity, learning, and novelty. To this work was prefixed, under the name of a A Preliminary Dissertation, a very valuable piece, written by the Rev. Mr. Gay, of Sidney college. Our Bishop always spoke of this gentleman in terms of the greatest respect. In the Bible, and in the Writings of Mr. Locke, no man, he was used to say, was so well versed.

He also, whilst at Christ college, undertook and went through a very laborious part, in preparing for the press, an edition of Stephens's Thesaurus. His acquaintance, during his first residence in the university, was principally with Dr. Waterland, the learned master of Magdalen college; Dr. Jortin, a name known to every scholar; and Dr. Taylor, the editor of Demosthenes*.

In the year 1737, he was presented by the university to the living of Graystock, in the county of Cumberland, a rectory of about 300*l.* a year. The advowson of this benefice belonged to the family of Howards of Graystock, but devolved to the university for this turn, by virtue of an act of parliament, which transfers to these two bodies the nomination to such benefices as appertain, at the time of

* The late Archdeacon Blackburne was three years his juniour in the university, taking his first degree in 1726; and, as he did not afterwards reside in college, may not properly be classed among his literary friends there, at this time.—But their friendship commenced early in life, and was improved by the joint interest they afterwards took in the question concerning the intermediate state. It was cemented by a long and unreserved correspondence, and by personal intercourse; and also by the general agreement of their opinions concerning the right and expediency of requiring subscriptions to articles of faith. Bishop Law owed much to the learned labours of Archdeacon Blackburne. In the latter part of their lives, a coolness existed between them, which, probably, was lamented by both: but which it would be difficult, perhaps, satisfactorily to explain.

their vacancy, to the patronage of a Roman Catholick. The right, however, of the university was contested; and it was not till after a law-suit of two years continuance that Mr. Law was settled in his living. Soon after this, he married Mary, the daughter of John Christian, Esq. of Unerigg, in the county of Cumberland; a lady, whose character is remembered with tenderness and esteem by all who knew her.

In 1743, he was promoted by Sir George Fleming, Bishop of Carlisle, to the archdeaconry of that diocese; and in 1746, went from Graystock to reside at Salkeld, a pleasant village upon the banks of the river Eden, the rectory of which is annexed to the archdeaconry. Mr. Law was not one of those who lose and forget themselves in the country. During his residence at Salkeld, he published, *Considerations on the Theory of Religion;* to which he subjoined, *Reflections on the Life and Character of Christ;* and an Appendix concerning the use of the words "soul and spirit," in Holy Scripture, and the state of the dead there described*.

Dr. Keene held at this time, with the bishoprick of Chester, the mastership of Peterhouse in Cambridge. Desiring to leave the university, he procured Mr. Law to be elected to succeed him in that station. This took place in the year 1754; in which year Dr. Law resigned his archdeaconry in favour of Mr. Eyre, a brother-in-law of Dr. Keene†. Five years before this, he proceeded to his de-

* In his controversy on the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, Dr. Law was ably and eminently supported by the assistance of Archdeacon Blackburne, Mr. Pekard afterwards dean of Peterborough, and Master of Magdalen college, Cambridge, and Dr. B. Dawson, rector of Burgh in Suffolk.

† In consequence of his mastership of Peterhouse, he was vice-chancellor of the university, 1755.

gree of doctor in divinity; in his publick exercise for which, he defended the doctrine of what is usually called the "sleep of the soul." [1749.]

About the year 1760, he was appointed head librarian of the university; a situation which, as it procured an easy and quick access to books, was peculiarly agreeable to his taste and habits. Some time after this, he was also appointed casuistical professor. [1764.] In the year 1762, he suffered an irreparable loss by the death of his wife; a loss in itself every way afflicting, and rendered more so by the situation of his family, which then consisted of eleven children, many of them very young. Some years afterwards, he received several preferments, which were rather honourable expressions of regard from his friends, than of much advantage to his fortune.

By Dr. Cornwallis, then Bishop of Litchfield, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his pupil at Christ college, he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Staffordshire, and to a prebend in the church of Litchfield. [1763.] By his old acquaintance, Dr. Green, Bishop of Lincoln, he was made a prebendary of that church. [1764.] But in the year 1767, by the intervention of the Duke of Newcastle, to whose interest, in the memorable contest for the high-stewardship of the university, he had adhered in opposition to some temptations, he obtained a stall in the church of Durham. The year after this, the Duke of Grafton, who had a short time before been elected chancellor of the university, recommended the master of Peterhouse to his Majesty for the bishoprick of Carlisle. [1769.] This recommendation was made, not only without solicitation on his part or that of his friends, but without his knowledge, until the Duke's intention in his favour was signified to him by the Archbishop. In or about the year

1777, our Bishop gave to the publick, a handsome edition, in four quarto volumes, of the Works of Mr. Locke, with the Life of the author, and a preface. Mr. Locke's writings and character he held in the highest esteem, and seems to have drawn from them many of his own principles: he was a disciple of that school. About the same time he published a tract, which engaged some attention in the controversy concerning subscription*; and he published new editions of his two principal works, with considerable additions, and some alterations. Besides the works already mentioned, he published in 1734 or 1735, a very ingenious *Inquiry into the Ideas of Space, Time*, &c. in which he combats the opinions of Dr. Clarke and his adherents on these subjects.†

* "Considerations on the propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith."

† In addition to the works already mentioned, the Bishop's smaller publications were the following:

1. 1743. Litigiousness repugnant to Christianity. An Assize Sermon at Carlisle. (Matt. v. 40.)
2. 1746. The Nature and Necessity of Catechising, with some remarks thereon.
3. 1755. Sermon before the Irish Protestant Schools. (Jer. xxix. 7.)
4. 1768. True Nature and Interest of Religion. A Sermon on the death of Dr. Bland, prebendary of Durham. (Micah vi. 8.)
5. 1769. A Defence of Mr. Locke's Opinion concerning Personal Identity; in answer to the first part of a late Essay on that subject.—Afterwards inserted at the end of the first volume of his edition of Locke's Works.
6. 1770. Observations occasioned by the Contest about Literary Property.
7. 1771. The Grounds of a Particular Providence. A Sermon before the Lords, Jan. 30. (Dan. ii. 21, 22.)
8. 1774. Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (Mal. i. 11.)

Dr. Law held the see of Carlisle almost nineteen years; during which time he twice, only, omitted spending the summer months in his diocese at the Bishop's residence, at Rose castle; a situation, with which he was much pleased, not only on account of the natural beauty of the place, but because it restored him to the country, in which he had spent the best part of his life. In the year 1787, he paid this visit in a state of great weakness and exhaustion; and died at Rose, about a month after his arrival there, on the 14th day of August, and in the 84th year of his age.

The life of Dr. Law was a life of incessant reading and thought, almost entirely directed to metaphysical and religious inquiries; but the tenet by which his name and writings are principally distinguished, is "that Jesus, at his second coming, will, by an act of his power, restore to life and consciousness the dead of the human species, who, by their own nature, and without his interposition, would remain in the state of insensibility, to which the death brought upon mankind by the sin of Adam had reduced them." He interpreted literally that saying of St. Paul, (1 Cor. xv. 21.) "As by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." This opinion had no other effect upon his own mind than to increase his reverence for Christianity, and for its divine founder. He retained it, as he did his other speculative opinions, without laying, as many are wont to do, an extravagant stress upon their importance, and without pretending to more certainty than the subject allowed of. No man formed his own conclusions with more freedom, or treated those of others with greater candour and equity. He never quarrelled with any person for differing from him, or considered that difference as a sufficient reason for questioning any man's sincerity, or judging meanly of his understanding. He was zealously attached

to religious liberty, because he thought that it leads to truth: yet from his heart he loved peace. But he did not perceive any repugnancy in these two things. There was nothing in his elevation to his bishoprick which he spoke of with more pleasure, than its being a proof that decent freedom of inquiry was not discouraged.

He was a man of great softness of manners, and of the mildest and most tranquil disposition. His voice was never raised above its ordinary pitch. His countenance seemed never to have been ruffled; it preserved the same kind and composed aspect, truly indicating the calmness and benignity of his temper*. He had an utter dislike of large and mixed companies. Next to his books, his chief satisfaction was in the serious conversation of a literary companion, or in the company of a few friends. In this sort of society he would open his mind with great unreservedness, and with a peculiar turn and sprightliness of expression. His person was low, but well formed; his complexion fair and delicate. Except occasional interruptions by the gout, he had for the greatest part of his life enjoyed good health; and, when not confined by that distemper, was full of motion and activity. About nine years before his death, he was greatly enfeebled by a severe attack of the gout in his stomach; and a short time after that, lost the use of one of his legs. Notwithstanding his fondness for exercise, he resigned himself to this change, not only without complaint, but without any sensible diminution of his cheerfulness and good humour. His fault (for we are not writing a panegyrick) was the general fault of retired and studious characters, too great a degree of inaction and facility in his publick station. The modesty, or rather bashfulness, of

* His portrait, painted by Mr. Romney, and engraved in *mezzotinto* by W. Dickinson, in 1777, is a very correct likeness.

his nature, together with an extreme unwillingness to give pain, rendered him sometimes less firm and efficient in the administration of authority than was requisite. But it is the condition of human mortality. There is an opposition between some virtues which seldom permits them to subsist together in perfection.

The Bishop was interred with due solemnity in his cathedral church, in which a handsome monument is erected to his memory, bearing the following inscription:—

Columnæ hujus sepultus est ad pedem
EDMUNDUS LAW, S. T. P.
per xix fere annos hujusce ecclesiæ episcopus.
In evangelica veritate exquirenda,
et vindicanda,
ad extremum usque senectutem
operam navavit indefessam.
Quo autem studio et effectu veritatem,
eodem et libertatem Christianam coluit;
religionem simplicem et incorruptam
nisi salva libertate,
stare non posse arbitratus.
Obiit Aug. XIV. MDCCLXXXVII.
Ætat. LXXXIV.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DR. PERCIVAL AND ARCHDEACON PALEY, ON SUBSCRIPTION TO ARTICLES OF FAITH.

[Extracted from the Literary Correspondence of Dr. Percival: Works, vol. i. p. cxlvi.—cli.]

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON PALEY.

Manchester, June 20th, 1788.

WHAT apology shall I offer for the liberty I am now presuming to take with you? The very high respect which I entertain for your talents and character, operates upon me at once as an incitement and restraint; and whilst I am solicitous to avail myself of your counsel and assistance, I am diffident in requesting them, from a consciousness of having no claim to be honoured with either. But the occasion requires a sacrifice of feeling to judgment; and I shall trust to your goodness to excuse, if peculiar reasons do not justify, my present application to you.

My oldest son, whom I intended for the profession of physick, by his residence at St. John's college, and connexions in Cambridge, has had his views changed, and is now strongly inclined to go into the Church. But previous to his final decision, he wishes to settle his mind on several important topicks comprehended in the articles of faith. The chapter on religious establishments, in your excellent System of Moral and Political Philosophy, has had great weight with him; and he has this morning expressed to me an earnest desire to have the benefit of your personal instructions, on points so interesting to his future peace, prosperity, and usefulness. Is it possible for him to enjoy this

singular privilege, for the space of a few weeks? I shall cordially acquiesce in any terms that you may prescribe, and with a grateful sense of obligation to you.

I am a Dissenter; but actuated by the same spirit of catholicism which you possess. An establishment I approve; the Church of England in many respects, I honour; and should think it my duty to enter instantly into her communion, were the plan which you have proposed in your tenth chapter carried into execution*.———

TO DR. PERCIVAL.

Carlisle, June 25th, 1788.

I DESIRE you to accept my thanks for the many obliging expressions of respect which your letter contains. If the state of my engagements had allowed me to spare a few weeks to a personal conference with your son upon any subject of doubt which he should chance to propose, it would have been a pleasure to me to have complied with your wishes, from a sense both of private obligation and of publick esteem. As my time is at present very little in my own power, and my being at home very uncertain, I know not how I can contribute to your son's satisfaction in any

* "A comprehensive national religion, guarded by a few articles of peace and conformity, together with a legal provision for the clergy of that religion; and with a *complete* toleration of all dissenters from the established church, without any other limitation or exception than what arises from the conjunction of dangerous political dispositions with certain religious tenets, appears to be, not only the most just and liberal, but the wisest and safest system, which a state can adopt: inasmuch as it unites the several perfections which a religious constitution ought to aim at—liberty of conscience, with means of instruction; the progress of truth, with the peace of society; the right of private judgment, with the care of the publick safety." Mor. and Pol. Phil. b. vi. ch. 10.

better way than by sending you a few additional explanatory observations upon what I have written in my chapter, entitled, "Of Subscription."

1st, If any person understand and believe all the several propositions in the thirty-nine articles, and in the liturgy and homilies, which they recognize, there can be no place for doubt.

2d, If a person think that every such proposition is probable, or as probable as the contrary or any other supposition on the subject, there can be no just cause of scruple.

3d, If a person, after using due inquiry, understand some of the propositions in the thirty-nine articles, but not all, and assent to those propositions which he does understand, I think he may safely subscribe.

4th, If a person think any part of the discipline, government, rites, or worship of the Church of England to be *forbidden*, he certainly ought not to subscribe; but certain parts of these being not commanded, or not the best possible, or not good and useful, or not reasonable, (for many things may be absurd, and yet very innocent,) is not, in my opinion, a sufficient ground of objection.

5th, If there be certain particular propositions in the articles which he disbelieves, although he assent to the main part of them, as well as to the lawfulness of the established government and worship of the Church, then arises the case in which the principal difficulty consists. And as to this case, I find no reason, upon much reconsideration, to question the principle I have laid down, viz. "that if the intention and view of the legislature, which imposed subscription, be satisfied, it is enough." But here comes a doubt, whether we can be permitted to go out of the terms of subscription, that is to say, the words of the statute, to collect the intention of the legislature, or not. If we look to the terms of

the subscription, they seem to require a positive assent to each and every proposition contained in the articles, so as that believing any one such proposition to be untrue, is inconsistent with subscription. If we may be allowed to judge of the design and object of the legislature from the nature of the case, and the ordinary maxims of human conduct, it appears likely that they meant to fence out such sects and characters as were hostile and dangerous to the new establishment, viz. popery, and the tenets of the continental anabaptists; rather than expect, what they must have known to be impracticable, the exact agreement of so many minds in such a great number of controverted propositions*.

Now, concerning this doubt, viz. whether we may or not go out of the terms of the statute to collect the design of the legislature, (which question I think involves the whole difficulty), I can only say that a court of justice, in interpreting written laws, certainly could not, and ought not; for any such liberty would give to courts of justice the power of making laws; but I do not see that any danger or insecurity will be introduced by allowing this liberty to private persons. I mean, that private persons acting under the direction of a law may be said to do their duty, if they act up to what they believe to be the design of the legislature in making the law; whether their opinion of that design be founded upon the terms of the statute alone, or upon the nature of the subject and the actual probability.

If I had the pleasure of your son's presence, I know not whether I ought to say any thing more. It is the office of

* "The Articles of the Church of England," Mr. Paley used to say, "would be found, on dissection, to contain about two hundred and forty distinct and independent propositions, many of them inconsistent with each other."

an adviser in such cases to suggest general principles. The application of these principles to each person's case must be made by the person himself, who alone knows the state of his own thoughts. I have only to add, Burnet's seems a fair explication of the sense of the articles*.

SPEECH ON THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE INHABITANTS OF CARLISLE, ON THURSDAY, FEB. 9th, 1792.

Mr. Paley, on being called to the chair by the general voice of the company, stated, that the purpose for which they were assembled, was to petition Parliament for the abolition of the Slave trade, and informed them that a petition to the House of Commons, might either be drawn up in the usual form, or founded upon certain resolutions previously agreed to by the meeting. The last mode of proceeding being thought most eligible by the company, the chairman brought forward a series of propositions on the

* The Rev. Thomas Bassnett Percival, in whom the preceding correspondence originated, was, in the early part of his life, destined for the profession of physick; and accordingly, after residing two years at St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he attended the lectures of the medical professors. But his distaste for these pursuits was soon manifest, and he remained there during one session only. His preference for the clerical profession, which he had early indulged, began to increase in proportion as he relinquished other views; and he at length resolved on returning to Cambridge, where he pursued his theological and moral studies, without interruption, during three years. He proceeded to the degree of L. L. B. in the year 1789; and shortly after received ordination from his diocesan the Bishop of Chester. He died, much lamented, whilst chaplain to the factory of British Merchants at St. Petersburgh, May 27th, 1798, in the thirty-second year of his age.

subject, which he introduced in a masterly and argumentative speech; of which the following substance was afterwards published from the recollection of a gentleman present.

"The continent of Africa is inhabited by people differing from the inhabitants of Europe in their complexion, manners, and institutions. The inhabitants of those parts to which the Europeans resort for slaves being under no right form of government, and civil polity, live in a constant state of hostility to each other. Chief makes war against chief, town against town, and village against village. The vanquished are made slaves to the victors, and one plundering excursion gives rise to another. Mutual depredations are continued, and the weak becomes a prey to the strong. But the African Slave trade encourages and perpetuates those usages, so disgraceful to human nature, and so detrimental to the well-being of society. For, as the intention of those British ships which visit Africa, is to purchase slaves, and as these can be procured from the natives, only by their committing acts of hostility upon one another; so, whilst the importation of slaves is carried on, the unhappy Africans will always have an incitement to mutual wars, and the vanquished will be made captives and sold to the slave-merchant.

"Africa abounds in many valuable and rich productions; the soil, in many places, is rich, and capable of high cultivation. Cotton, indigo, and the sugar-cane, being suited to the climate, might be cultivated with great advantage; and, were the natives taught to rear them, the nations of Europe might carry on a much more valuable trade with that part of the world, than the trade in slaves. But the continuance of this *diabolical* traffick has been, and will always be an insuperable bar to every such improvement, and

just commercial connexion. Moreover, the Slave trade is inimical to every improvement in the morals and civil condition of the Africans. The trader in slaves visits Africa, not with an intention to instruct the poor natives; not to teach them the principles of morality and religion; not to meliorate their condition as men;—but to reduce them into a state of endless slavery? And, when he has sold them in the West Indies, the planter exacts their labour with severity; but dreads their emancipation, and, with a criminal indulgence, allows them to increase in profligacy and wickedness.

"The situation and sufferings of the slaves, in their passage from Africa to the British West Indies, is such, as wholly to preclude the exercise of humanity. How humane and tender-hearted soever the captain and crew of a slave-ship may be, it is impossible for them to alleviate the sufferings of their cargo. When Sir William Dolben's bill, which allows a certain number of feet in the ship to every two slaves, was brought into Parliament, those concerned in the trade, combated it with this argument, that to be obliged to carry only a certain number of slaves, would be in effect to give up the trade, for that it could not be carried on, if reduced to the number specified in the bill. Therefore, as the slaves are confined to so little room on ship-board, each not having the space which a dead body occupies in its coffin, so their sufferings must still continue whilst the Slave trade exists, as those concerned in it cannot carry it on, if the slaves are allowed more room in the middle passage.

"Increase and multiply, is the first law of nature, and it is evident from experience and observation, that no class of beings, when they have a sufficiency of food, and live in a climate suited to their constitution, ever decrease, but still keep up their numbers: the lowest class of the Irish

affords a proof in point. They are poor, and in point of situation, in a state of slavery; yet they not only keep up their numbers, but are greatly upon the increase; an evidence that they have plenty of food, and live in a climate which suits them. The climate of the West Indies is not hostile to an African constitution; and yet there is an annual waste of twenty thousand slaves in the British West India Islands: a demonstration, that the slaves in the British plantations have not a sufficiency of food, or that their food is unwholesome, or both; for were they properly treated, they would, at least, keep up their numbers.

"This being so, the following inference may be justly drawn; that to remedy this evil, and enable the slaves not only to keep up their numbers, but increase them, the future importation of slaves from Africa into the British West Indies, must be prohibited. It is then, and only then, that the planters will be convinced of the necessity of adopting just regulations, and exercising proper dispositions towards their slaves. Were the importation stopped, the West Indians would take the greatest care to preserve the lives, and better the morals of their slaves. They would not encourage the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, prostitution, and other wickedness; they would enact wholesome laws concerning marriage; every man would have his own wife; they would be careful of their offspring; they would establish families, and allow them wherewith to support them; they would not neglect the education of the black children. But this will not come to pass, whilst the waste of slaves can be supplied from Africa, and as long as they think they can procure them at a cheaper rate than they can rear them.

"The enemies to an abolition of the Slave trade allege, that the charges brought against it, are founded upon a few solitary instances of cruelty, which might happen, and have

happened in England, or in any other country; but that the necessity of putting a stop to the Slave trade, cannot be justly argued from these.

"To this it may be observed, that all these singular cases are put out of the question. None of the propositions rest upon one or two instances of cruelty, but proceed upon this data, that there is some *radical errour* at the bottom, something fundamentally wrong. Particular instances of cruelty, proceeding from the passions of men, may happen, and yet those in a servile state, be upon the whole, comparatively happy; but it is the general treatment which the slaves receive, a treatment, the necessary consequence of the Slave trade, which renders their case so very hard, and which never will be better whilst the importation from Africa is permitted. That a trade however admits the possibility, the impunity, of such instances of cruelty, and we fear, occasions the frequency of such examples, is certainly an objection to its being carried on.

"The West Indian slave has but a small chance of having justice done him. The slave-holder is both judge and juror, and we know how ready men are to be biassed, when their own interest is in view. Of this a proof was given in what happened to a planter, who beat his female slave with his own hands, in so cruel a manner, that she died about a half an hour after. He was tried for the murder of his she-slave, and acquitted, upon the oath of a surgeon, who swore, that she was subject to fits when she was seventeen years of age: though it was well known, that many women are subject to them at that time of life. The truth is, she died of the blows she received from her master. This planter's case, was exactly similar to that of Mrs. Brownrigg, who was condemned, and executed, some years ago, for the murder of her apprentice girl. But the one was tried by an impartial English jury, and the other by a jury of West India slave-holders.

"Those who are averse to the abolition of the traffick in slaves, combat the solid reasons for its prohibition, with specious, but weak arguments. 'Slavery,' they say, 'existed in Africa, before the English, or any other European nation, visited that part of the world to purchase slaves; therefore to impute to the Guinea trade, the evils which it is said to occasion, is an unjust accusation.' To this argument it has been answered, that the allegation is futile, and can have no weight; for though the Europeans were not the original cause of slavery in Africa, yet they certainly perpetuate, by a traffick in human flesh, the evils which necessarily result from it. And if men, with a view to their own interest, do what in them lies, to continue wicked and unnatural customs, they may be said, with great justice, to be the immediate cause of them. Scalping was in practice among the Indians, long before the Europeans made settlements in America. None will surely plead in favour of scalping. But suppose scalps should become of request in Europe, and a trade in them be carried on with the American Indians, might it not be justly said, that the Europeans, by their trade in scalps, did all they could to perpetuate, amongst the natives of America, the inhuman practice of scalping?

"It is also alleged, that the miseries which result from the Slave trade, would not be diminished, even supposing the importation of slaves from Africa into the British West Indies, were to cease; for that other nations, availing themselves of that circumstance, would take possession of the trade we relinquished. This is an argument of no force; it is only a weak excuse to palliate a practice replete with many evils, and can have no weight with those who see the Slave trade in its proper light. What other nations may, or may not do, should have no weight with the inhabitants of Britain; the Slave trade has been clearly

proved to be incompatible with the natural rights of man, contrary to the principles of religion and morality, founded in extreme injustice, and the cause of many cruelties. Shall it be said, that this horrid complexioned trade must be continued, because, if we give it up, other nations will take possession of it? Every person, but those swayed by a sordid interest, will scout the idea.

"However, suppose other nations should not follow the example of Britain, but still continue the *inhuman traffick*. We have done our duty, by doing all we could to put an end to the evils of slavery. When we are convinced of the justness and propriety of certain actions, we do not allow ourselves to be influenced by probable conjectures about the conduct of others; no, we act in consequence of what seems to us to be just and right. The prohibition of the Slave trade is just and right; this let us endeavour to obtain, without troubling ourselves about the manner in which other nations may act. But, (as is well expressed in the propositions,) one good consequence of prohibiting the importation of slaves into the British West Indies will be, a decrease of the mass of wickedness and misery, attending the trade, in the same proportion that the waste of slaves in our islands, bears to the supply of other European settlements.

"A bad cause is supported by bad arguments. The friends to the Slave trade adduce, in proof of the injustice and impolicy of its abolition, the late insurrection at St. Domingo. That such an insurrection of the slaves has existed, cannot be denied; that many lives have been lost, and much damage done, must be lamented; but this insurrection was owing to a principle inherent in every man, and proves only, "that a slave watches his opportunity to get free." The revolution in France reached their West India settlements; the people of colour wished to partici-

pate equal privileges with the whites; which the latter were unwilling to grant them, notwithstanding the French National Assembly had decreed, if I mistake not, that both should enjoy all the rights of free citizens. This gave occasion to animosities and quarrels, and the slaves, thinking it the favourable moment to get free, rebelled, and retaliated upon their masters, for the many hardships which they had endured. But no such evil can be dreaded from the abolition of the Slave trade, as we do not aim at the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies, but only wish that the future importation of them, from Africa, may be prohibited. Let the slave-holder use those now in his possession with humanity and kindness, and he will have no cause to be afraid of an insurrection. In vain do the white inhabitants of the British West Indies say, they are kind and humane masters, and their slaves happy in their present situation. The application to government for an additional military force, the purchase of arms for themselves, and the associations entered into by the whites, are proofs in point, that so far from being humane, as they would make us believe, they are severe task-masters, who rule their slaves with a rod of iron. Did the West Indian planter treat his slaves in the manner servants are treated in England, they would at all times be the faithful defenders of his life and property. Besides, the prohibition of the importation of slaves from Africa could be no incitement to the slaves in the British West Indies to rebel, but rather the contrary; as it will be an inducement to the slave-holder to use his slaves better, knowing that he is precluded from a future supply.

"To say then, that the principle of liberty, which excites the slave to gain his freedom, had no existence previous to the discussions and transactions which have passed upon the subject in England, is very unjust. This is a

principle of nature which every human being has, in a greater or less degree, and, unless this principle be totally destroyed by severe and tyrannical treatment, it will shew itself upon every proper occasion.

"Let the friends to the abolition of the Slave trade act with firmness and moderation; let them take every opportunity to disseminate through Britain a knowledge of this iniquitous traffick, and, as the cause they espouse is that of humanity and justice, there are strong reasons to believe, that their generous exertions will in time prove successful."

The Chairman having finished this luminous and comprehensive speech, the several propositions which he brought forward were successively put to the vote, and it was unanimously

Resolved,—That it appears to us,

I. That the exercise of the Slave trade, upon the coast of Africa, has a necessary tendency to encourage and perpetuate the vicious usages and institutions which prevail in that country; and to obstruct other commercial intercourse with the inhabitants, as well as all improvements in their moral character and civil condition.

II. That the sufferings of the Slaves in the middle passage are inseparable from the trade.

III. That it is contrary to uniform experience, and to the known laws of nature, that any class of human beings, who are properly treated, and placed in a climate suiting with their constitution, should not be able to keep up their numbers.

IV. That consequently, to prohibit the future importation of slaves into the British West Indies, is only to lay the planters under a necessity of forming and executing proper dispositions and regulations in favour of the Negroes

already in those islands, which dispositions and regulations, without such necessity, we conceive will not be formed, or if formed, will not be executed.

V. That whereas it is alleged, that the charges brought against the Slave trade are founded in extreme cases of cruelty and misconduct; in the conclusions above stated, these cases are not in any manner relied upon, although it be an additional objection to the trade, that it admits the possibility, the impunity, and, as we fear, the frequency of such examples.

VI. That it is a weak excuse for a bad practice to say, that if we do not pursue it others will; but that even this excuse is inapplicable to the present case, because the prohibiting of the importation of slaves into the British West Indies, whether the example be followed by other nations or not, will diminish the mass of wickedness and misery attending the trade, in the proportion that the waste of slaves in our islands bears to the supply of other European settlements.

VII. That the late insurrection at St. Domingo, proves only, "that a slave watches his opportunity to get free."

VIII. That the existence of this principle cannot, without extreme injustice, be ascribed to the discussions and transactions which have passed upon the subject in England.

IX. That a petition to Parliamnt, stating the above reasons, and praying the Abolition of the Slave trade, be now proposed, and that after receiving the signatures of such inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood as choose to subscribe it, the members for the city be requested to present the same to the House of Commons.

X. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Archdeacon Paley, for his excellent speech and conduct in the chair.

WILLIAM PALEY, *Chairman.*

A petition containing the substance of these resolutions being also approved of by the meeting, and signed by a number of the inhabitants, was presented to the House of Commons, on the 27th of the same month.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. ROBERTSON AND ARCHDEACON PALEY, ON AN ALLEGED LITERARY DEPREDATION.

[From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxii. 1792.]

"*Thou shalt not steal.*"

Catechism by Paley, p. 34.

Marlborough-street, Feb. 12.

MR. URBAN,

WHEN the press teems with innumerable publications in every department of literature, it is no wonder that many of them are mere compilations; the observations, arguments, and opinions, of preceding writers, thrown together into one general mass, and presented to the publick under some new and ostentatious title. We have volumes after volumes, collected from the works of the most eminent authors, filled with heterogeneous fragments, which distract and confound the reader's memory and imagination, and consequently leave no useful impression on the mind. Some dealers in this piratical commerce take every opportunity they can seize, for converting the works of others to their own emolument. With this view, they mangle and pillage them in an arbitrary manner, till they have either made the original composition appear to the utmost disadvantage, or devour it, as rapaciously as the harpies devoured the provisions of Æneas and his companions.

Though, as the author of two or three humble publications, I did not imagine that I should be exposed to piratical depredations, yet I have found myself deceived. I did not recollect that a petty thief will steal a scraper.

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Some time after the appearance of *An Introduction to the Study of Polite Literature*, a certain reverend gentleman in the North, republished the greatest part of that tract for the use of Sunday-schools, and others in general. To this compilation he has prefixed his name and his titles of honour, William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle. But he has not condescended to make the *least* acknowledgment, or to offer the least apology for his plagiarism, though it constitutes the first thirty pages of his publication; to which he has subjoined the catechism, a few passages of Scripture, two or three prayers, some *divine songs*, and other pious *collectanea*, which would not have answered his purpose, or been saleable, without the former part.

I think myself amply justified in thus mentioning the editor of this disingenuous publication, as it continues to be sold (notwithstanding a *former* remonstrance) by his booksellers in Carlisle and Bond-street*! In his next edition the conscientious Archdeacon is desired to inform his readers, how such an invasion of private property can be justified on the "principles of moral and political philosophy."

As the ingenious young students of the floating academy are subject to penal statutes, it is but reasonable, that all

* This fraudulent publication, entitled *The Young Christian instructed in Reading, &c.* bears some appearance and symptoms of guilt in its front.—No London bookseller's name, though published in the metropolis!

pilferers in the republick of letters should be chastised, in proportion to their demerits. Your impartiality, Mr. Urban, and regard for ingenuous learning, will, I hope, induce you to give these strictures a place in your Magazine; not for the sake of the writer, but for the most important purposes, the discouragement of plagiarism, and protection of literary property.

Yours, &c.

J. ROBERTSON.

Carlisle, March 18th, 1792.

MR. URBAN,

IN the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, p. 131, I am accused by the Rev. Mr. Robertson, of invading his property in a certain work, published by him, under the title of *An Introduction to the Study of Polite Literature.* As you have thought proper to admit into your miscellany Mr. Robertson's complaint, I expect, from your regard to justice, that you will find a place for my answer. Your readers then must first of all be told, what, from the air of importance which is given to the charge, they would not readily imagine, that this same *Introduction to the Study of Polite Literature* is a spelling book; that one entire page of the original, for the crime of purloining which I am thus brought before the publick, is verbally and literally as follows:

LESSON III.

A bag	a cap	a mat
A nag	a map	a hat
A bun	a nut	a spy
A gun	a hut	a fly

and that, except some short directions for reading, all the pages taken by me are of the same kind with this speci-

men, proceeding, as is the manner of primers and spelling-books, from words of one syllable to words of more, and from polysyllables to sentences of different lengths. I mention this, not to detract from the merits of Mr. Robertson's performance, which is a very good one of the sort, but in order to show that reputation of authorship could hardly be my motive for the theft. The truth and the whole truth of the transaction is this. About seven years ago, when Sunday-schools were first set up in Carlisle, I was desired to prepare some small tract, which might be put into the hands of the children and the masters. The point aimed at was, to afford as much instruction for as little money as possible. With this view, it was necessary to make one part answer the purpose of a spelling-book, and the other to contain the elements of religious knowledge. I executed the office of a compiler in the first part, by marking out to the printer some pages of an anonymous spelling book, which had accidentally come into my hands as a present to one of my children. In the second part there is nothing of my own except a piece of four pages, entitled, *A Short History of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.* The rest is made up of portions of Scripture, selected by me, chiefly from the Gospels, an old tract of Lord Chief Justice Hale's, two prayers, two hymns of Dr. Watts', a piece of Dr. Stonehouse's, taken from the Society's tracts, and another of Mr. Gilpin's. These two last named gentlemen have not complained, probably indeed continue ignorant of the injury that has been done to them. Should they come to know it, I am persuaded that, instead of resenting the liberty which I have taken with their pious writings, they will rejoice to find them made, in any shape, or by any hand, useful and accessible to the poor. My

name as the *compiler* (for that is the word employed) was placed in the title page, because the bookseller refused to print the book without it; and it is placed there in the manner, so far as I know, commonly adopted by clergymen, for I am conscious of no affectation upon that head.

Such was the birth of the little compilation which has produced this angry attack. A few months after it had been printed, Mr. Faulder of Bond-street asked my leave to put forth an edition of it in London. I told him that the first part was taken from a work, which, as I now understood, though I did not know it at the time, had been published by Mr. Robertson of Marlborough-street; and that he must apply to Mr. Robertson for permission. Mr. Faulder made his application, and was refused; and upon that refusal, by my positive injunction, desisted from his design. If it has been printed and sold in London, or any where else, except in this neighbourhood, since that time, it is entirely without my participation or knowledge.

Mr. Robertson says, that the collection "would not *have answered my purpose*, or been saleable, without the former part:" What purpose had I to be answered but that which is expressed in the title page, "the use of the Sunday-schools in Carlisle?" I never gained a penny by the publication; so much otherwise, that I paid the publisher his full price for every copy that I gave away. I am at this moment ready to convey to Mr. Robertson, or his assignee, my title, if he think I have any to the work, and all interest in it whatsoever.

Mr. Robertson has not said that the sale of one copy of his book has been hindered by the appearance of mine. From the different quality of the articles I am convinced that no such effect can follow. His is a fair volume, a

beautiful type, and a fine paper, adapted in all respects to the use of genteel boarding schools, and the nurseries of genteel families. Of all the low priced helps to education with which parish children and charity-schools were ever furnished, mine in these particulars is the meanest. The two books, therefore, are calculated for a totally different description of purchasers. They can never meet in the market; no person who would buy his book would be content with mine.

This is my defence; but a part of my story is yet untold. Not long after the little book was published, and as soon as I knew Mr. Robertson's sentiments about it, the substance of what I have here alleged was drawn up by me, in terms as respectful as I could frame them, and, being so drawn up, was communicated to him by a friend to us both. Although I did not believe that I had injured his property, I was truly sorry that I had offended, and that also unknowingly, a gentleman with whom I possessed a slight degree of acqaintance, whose hard fortune in his profession I have often lamented, and whose literary merits entitle him to regard from every scholar. Mr. Robertson ought not, therefore, to have said, "that I have not condescended to make the least acknowledgment, or offer the least apology, for my plagiarism." I did offer an apology, not indeed in print, which, I doubt not, is what he means, but by a mode of correspondence, which, in my judgment, much better became both the subject and the parties.

And this, Mr. Urban, leads me to express my regret, that there should be one column in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which hath no employment more worthy of it than to convey to the publick, what the publick have no concern in, a beggarly dispute about a few pages of a spelling book,

by the stealing of which, (for so let it be called,) neither the plagiarist hath gained, nor the proprietor lost, a fraction of a farthing.

Yours, &c.

W. PALEY*.

ADVERTISEMENT PREFIXED TO THE SEPARATE PUBLICATION OF ARCHDEACON PALEY'S ESSAY UPON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

[See Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, Book vi. chap. vii.]

WHAT has passed in Europe, under the immediate observation of this country, during the last four years, hath naturally drawn the thoughts of the reflecting part of the English community to the constitution of their government. The conduct also of some principal writers upon both sides of the question, hath tended to excite, not only the attention, but the passions of the publick; and to force the subject upon the thoughts of multitudes, whose minds would, otherwise, have been very little disposed to entertain political speculations. I cannot however persuade myself, that the friends of publick tranquillity have any thing to fear. The body of the British people appear to me to be satisfied with their condition; to be intent upon their various employments; and to be tasting the sweets of industry and order in the increased and increasing gains of almost every occupation. This state of this country is a strong security for its internal peace. Nevertheless,

* An anonymous defence of Mr. Paley, and two additional letters from Mr. Robertson, appeared in the same volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which it is not thought necessary to re-publish here.

since these discussions are undoubtedly become very general, it is expedient, that whatever any one has to propose, should be proposed in a form fitted for general reading. This reason hath induced me to publish the following apology for the British Constitution in a separate pamphlet; as the work, from which it is taken, is hindered by its size and price, from finding its way into the hands of many who might receive advantage from the perusal. Some late notices of that work, much too honourable for me to repeat, have procured to it a degree of regard, which will probably obtain readers for this part of it. I trust also that it will be a recommendation of the principles here delivered, that they were not made for the times or the occasion; to serve any purpose or any party; that they were committed to writing ten years ago, and under circumstances, which, if they were known, would exclude all suspicion of insincerity or design. The opinions I then formed, were formed upon the best considerations I was able to give to the subject of which I treated. Since the publication of the *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, I have written nothing, and, to speak the truth, have thought little, upon political questions; for, interesting as they may seem to be, or are, my age, and still more my health and profession, have taught me that there are other studies, in comparison with which even these are unimportant.

W. P.

Carlisle, June 29th, 1792.

INDICES

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS

OF THE

BOOKS, AUTHORS, SECTS OF CHRISTIANITY, OR OTHER RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL EVENTS, &c.

AND OF THE

TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE CONTAINED, QUOTED, EXPLAINED, OR REFERRED TO,

IN THE

WORKS OF DR. PALEY.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

BE it remembered, that on the ninth day of March, in the thirty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, JOSHUA BELCHER, *of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit: "Indices of the Principal Matters of the Books, Authors, Sects of Christianity, or other Religious and Historical Events, &c. and of the Texts of Scripture contained, quoted, explained, or referred to, in the Works of Dr. Paley."*

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

WILLIAM S. SHAW, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

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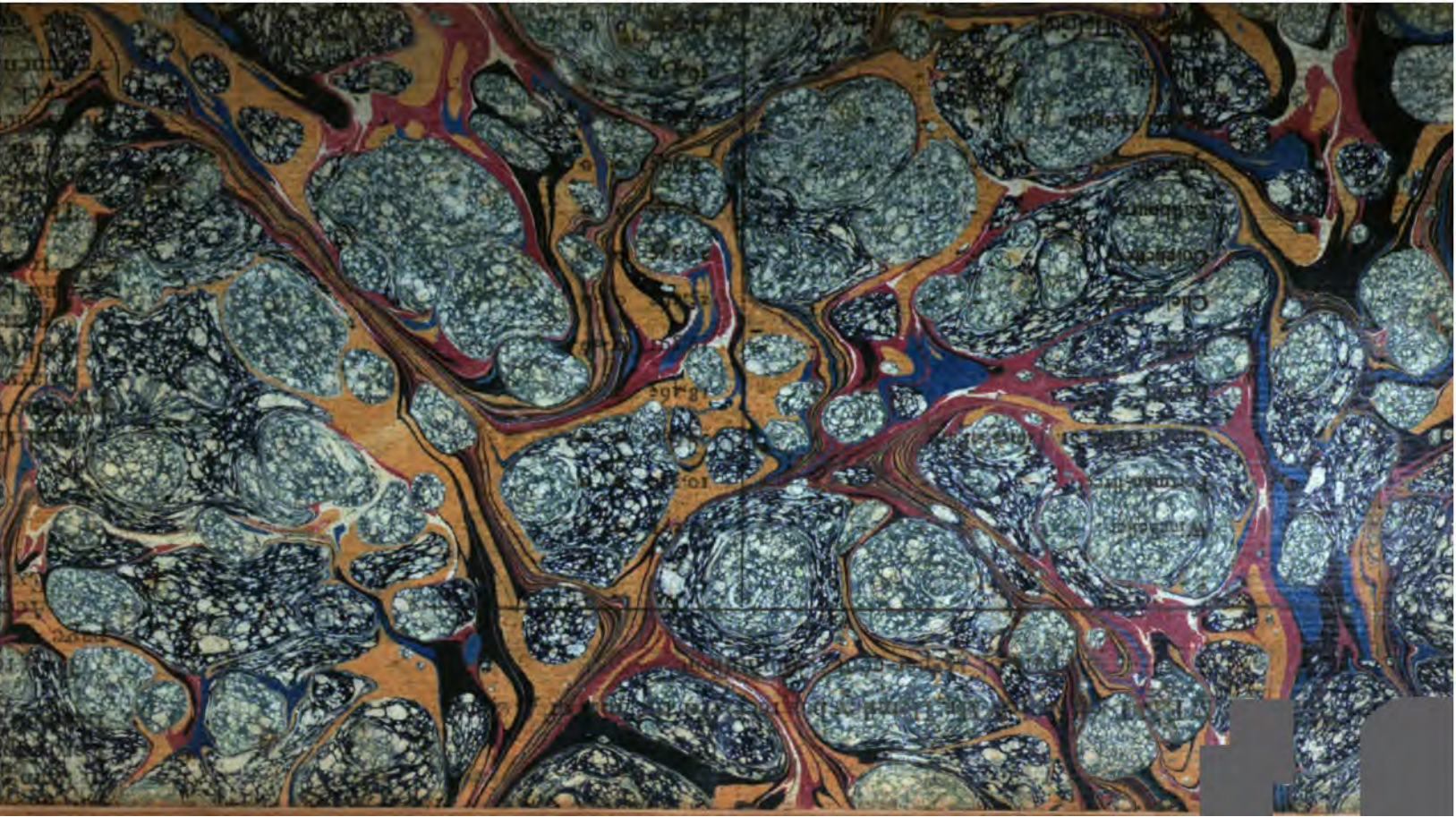

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